Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur

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DEVELOPMENT OF THE FEDERAL IDEA

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WITHIN the limits of a paper one can do little more than make an outline of the material embraced in such a broad and comprehensive title as that of the Development of the Federal Idea and Its Acceptance by the People. Every student of law, of economics, or political science, even the casual reader, must have been much impressed by the continually increasing activity of the National Government, particularly during the last half century. Whether this increased activity on the part of the National Government be due to an actual increase in power or merely to a development or unfolding, as it has been termed, of power latent during the earlier period of our national history, is an open question. Whether it be the one or the other, its growth and development depended upon its acceptance by the people; otherwise it could not have been embodied in the law. In any case, the Federal Idea is the greatest contribution of the Anglo-Saxon race to the science and practice of government.

It may be well at the outset to call attention to the fact that a government in which the sovereign powers of the State were to be divided, part of them to be exercised by a Central Government, and part of them to be exercised locally by States, was almost entirely unknown at the middle of the eighteenth century. The people who formed the Thirteen Colonies came to this country to escape the operation of a strongly centralized Government in

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which they had no voice. They were largely individualistic in their tendencies, and because of their remoteness from the Old World as well as from each other, they became greatly attached to their local institutions and to the idea of local self government. They looked with great suspicion, therefore, upon any scheme of government which was likely to produce in the New World the evils which they had escaped by fleeing from the Old World. The fundamental principles upon which they united for the purpose of resisting foreign aggression were set out in detail in the Declaration of Independence; their fundamental concepts of local self government were set forth in their State constitutions, which, in turn, embodied the ideas of the Declaration of Independence.

The progress of the Revolutionary War demonstrated the necessity of a political union of the States which should represent and express their common interests, economic and political. Out of this pressing necessity came the Articles of Confederation. The States, however, could not bring themselves to a point where they could surrender to the Central Government enough power to make it effective.

The importance of the Articles of Confederation in the development of the Federal Idea is minimized and often overlooked, largely because of the unforseen success of the Federal Constitution. It is not necessary to analyze the Articles of Confederation and point out their weaknesses in detail. Suffice it to say that these weaknesses were so great, and so patent, and so generally recognized, that they constituted the cause for calling together the group who formulated our Federal Constitution.

Immediately upon the organization of the Constitutional Convention, Edmund Randolph proposed a plan for the correction and enlargement of the Articles of Confederation, so as to accomplish the objects proposed by their institution, namely, "common defense, security of liberty, and general welfare." The plan proposed by Mr. Randolph immediately raised the question whether or not the proposed union should be a confederation of free and independent States, or whether it should provide for a Government resting directly upon the consent of the people themselves. Governor Randolph's plan was presented on May

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29, 1787. After two weeks of debate, on June 15, William Patterson of New Jersey proposed a substitute for the plan offered by Mr. Randolph, but later amended. This substitute, known as the New Jersey plan, was offered by those who were opposed to any departure from the principle of the Confederation and who were also opposed to a strong National Government. James Wilson on June 16 contrasted the principal points of the Virginia plan with those of the New Jersey plan. After four days of debate the New Jersey plan was rejected and the Virginia plan, introduced by Mr. Randolph, was adopted as the basis for the work of the Convention, by a vote of seven States to three.

Throughout the Convention, although James Wilson and others clearly stated the proposition that under the Virginia plan the Government would rest directly upon the people and not upon the States as such, there was constantly suggested the thought that there would inevitably be a conflict between the National Government and the State Governments, and that a tendency would develop for one to encroach upon the other. The Constitution was the result of a series of compromises and of an endeavour to preserve so far as possible the rights of States and at the same time to give the National Government sufficient power and authority to make it effective. James Wilson, who was strongly opposed to a Confederation of States, and who perhaps had a clearer conception as to the manner in which the proposed Constitution would work out than any other man in the Convention, felt very strongly that the States would probably encroach upon the National Government. In the Pennsylvania convention he said (speaking of the Federal Constitution):

> The truth is, sir, that the framers of this system were particularly anxious, and their work demonstrates their anxiety, to preserve the State Government unimpaired—it was their favourite object, and, perhaps, however proper it might be in itself, it is more difficult to defend the plan on account of the excessive caution used in that respect than from any other objection that has been offered here or elsewhere. (*Records of Fed. Convention*, Vol. 3, 144.)

In this connection the opinion of Mr. Madison, expressed in *The Federalist*, is of present interest:

> The powers delegated by the proposed Constitution to the Federal Government are few and defined. Those which are to remain in the State Govern-

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ments are numerous and indefinite. The former will be exercised principally on external objects, as war, peace, negotiation, and foreign commerce; with which last the power of taxation will for the most part be connected. The powers reserved to the several States will extend to all the objects which in the ordinary course of affairs concern the lives, liberties, and properties of the people; and the internal order, improvement, and prosperity of the State.

With the adoption of the Constitution the contest between the Federalists (those who favoured a strong National Government) and the Anti-Federalists (those who favoured the supremacy of the States) continued and became acute. From the beginning of the Constitutional Convention down to the present time the Federal Constitution has always been thought of and construed as a grant of power to and not as a limitation upon powers inherent in the Federal State. While it is clear from all the records that the framers of the Constitution intended to do just what they did do, that is, to form an independent sovereign National Government and not a new Confederation, nevertheless the National Government has no powers except those expressly granted or necessarily implied.

After the adoption of the Constitution the doctrine of States' Rights was invoked, with but few exceptions, to promote the economic interests of the States or sections invoking it as against the National Government or other States. It is not possible to do more than refer to a few of the most significant instances: In 1795, the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania; in 1799, the adoption of the Kentucky Resolutions, of which Thomas Jefferson in 1821 acknowledged himself to be the author; in 1814, the Hartford Convention, which was the result of the Embargo of 1807 and the following years.

In 1825 the State of Georgia forcibly prevented the execution of Federal laws, and of all decrees of the Federal courts within the State of Georgia relating to the Creek Indians within her borders, basing her action upon the same theory which had been set forth in the Kentucky Resolutions. In 1832 Alabama followed a similar course. In 1832 the State of South Carolina adopted the so-called Nullification Act, in which the theory of Nullification was further perfected by John C. Calhoun.

In the decade preceding the Civil War fourteen Northern

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States, in acts known as Personal Liberty Laws, attempted to nullify Federal statutes relating to slaves and slavery, by making it a crime for their citizens to obey these Federal laws, thus setting the State administrations against the Federal officials. As this controversy was developed in the State of Wisconsin its history may be found in *In Re Booth*, 3rd Wisconsin, and in *Booth vs. Ableman*, in the 16th, 18th and 20th Wisconsin. It may be of interest to know that the remittitur containing the mandate of the United States Supreme Court in the Booth case has never yet been filed in the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court of Wisconsin.

How far the assertion by the Northern States of the doctrine of States' Rights was based upon economic interest and how far upon moral or purely political considerations, would be an interesting study, but is not within the scope of this paper.

It was inevitable that the controversy over slavery, being of the very highest economic importance, should produce finally the full fruit of the theory of Nullification. The representatives of the seceding States met in March, 1861, to adopt a Constitution for the Confederate States of America, and it is interesting to note the preamble of that document. It says: "We, the people of the Confederate States, each State acting in its sovereign and independent character, in order to promote a permanent Federal Government, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and to our posterity—invoking the favour and guidance of Almighty God—do ordain and establish this Constitution for the Confederate States of America."

With the surrender of Lee at Appomattox, the controversy which had raged from the beginning as to whether or not the National Government was a Government of the States or a Government of the people by the people, was forever settled. The Federal Idea had triumphed. A State, in the sense of a political entity, in which the sovereign powers were distributed, part of them to be exercised by a strong Central Government and part by local self government, was no longer a political experiment but an accomplished fact. It had taken seventy-five years of struggle, terminating in a great war, to perfect the ideal born of the political necessities produced by the Revolutionary War.

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While there have been conflicts of interest since the Civil War between the States and the Federal Government, there has been, so far as I know, no threat of nullification or of secession during that time. It is possible, but not probable, that a conflict of economic interest may become so acute and cover such a wide area of the country as to prompt some State or section to assert again these doctrines. The situation which exists on the Pacific Coast with regard to the immigration of the Chinese and Japanese in all probability would in the early history of the country have produced another Hartford Convention, or an even more formidable organization. It can hardly do so now.

Coming now to the period succeeding the Civil War (or as many prefer to call it "the War between the Sections"), it is interesting to note the striking change in the attitude of the people as a whole toward the Federal Government which has followed the decline of the States' Rights doctrine. The members of the Convention which formulated the Federal Constitution were apprehensive lest the States at the demand of the people should encroach upon the powers of the Federal Government. The history of our country down to the struggle which ended in 1865 shows that this apprehension was well founded. It was inconceivable to the popular mind that two governments, each supreme and sovereign in its field, could operate together in the conduct and regulation of the life of a great people, without one encroaching upon the other. History afforded no example of such an adjustment, and due weight was not given to the fact that in the United States the sovereign power was vested under the Constitution in the people rather than in a governing class or person. With a realization that such an adjustment was not only possible, but had actually been made, by the people themselves, the controversy between those who believed in a strong Central Government and those who believed in the extreme doctrine of States' Rights, disappeared.

I wish to refer briefly to some instances that indicate the changed attitude of the people themselves toward the Federal Government.

In 1863 State banks were supplanted by the National Banking System. While there was no provision in the Constitution under

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which Congress could do away with State banks, it was able to accomplish indirectly by taxation that which it could not do directly. The benefits which accrued were of such a character as to lead the people to approve not only of Federal banks, but of the means by which they were established, in direct contradiction of their (the people's) former attitude, for instance in Jackson's Administration.

For many years there had been a growing demand for the suppression of the lottery evil. Attempts to suppress lotteries by denying their promoters the use of the United States mail had proven ineffective. The lotteries had been able to escape interference by establishing themselves in foreign territory. In 1890 Congress passed an act for the suppression of the lottery traffic, under its power to control foreign and interstate commerce and the postal service. The law not only prohibited any person from bringing into the United States or depositing in the mails any lottery ticket or lottery advertisement, but forbade these things being carried from one State to another. For the first time the power of Congress to regulate commerce under the Federal Constitution was used to infringe upon the police power of the States. Thereby Congress entered a legislative field that had in the whole history of the Constitution been thought to be reserved entirely to the States. In the last three decades this doctrine has been widely extended, as we shall see.

In the Congressional debate it was stated: "The demand for the suppression of this lottery traffic comes from all sections of the country. This lottery business has grown to such an extent that it has shocked the moral sense of the people of the entire country." Because the people demanded it, the law was enacted, and there was little if any debate in Congress upon the constitutionality of the measure. In 1903 the Supreme Court held that lottery tickets were subjects of traffic and their transportation by common carriers from one State to another was interstate commerce which Congress might prohibit under its power to regulate commerce among the States. Justice Harlan said:

> As a State may for the purpose of guarding the morals of its own people, forbid all sales of lottery tickets within its limits, so Congress, for the purpose of guarding the people of the United States against the widespread pestilence

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of lotteries, and to protect the commerce which concerns all the States, may prohibit the carrying of lottery tickets from one State to another.

The Court was divided, five to four. Chief Justice Fuller, dissenting, characterized the act as "a long step in the direction of wiping out all State lines and the creation of a centralized Government".

In 1799 Congress enacted a law directing Federal customs revenue officers duly to observe the quarantine laws of any State and faithfully aid in their execution, thus recognizing the power of the States in the exercise of their police powers to establish quarantine regulations. In 1898 Congress enacted a law which empowered and authorized State quarantine officers to act as officers of the National quarantine system and provided that they should be clothed with all the powers of United States officers for quarantine purposes. In a century Congress had exactly reversed its position. The Quarantine Act went so far as to authorize the Secretary of the Treasury, in the event that the quarantine regulations of any State or municipality were not, in his opinion, sufficient to prevent the introduction of infectious or contagious diseases from foreign countries, to promulgate rules and regulations which would supersede State laws. Representative Rayner of Maryland said:

Some of the States—but very few indeed—have ample and efficient quarantine regulations, while others have legislation upon the subject which is utterly impotent for the purpose for which it was designed, and still others have no statutes or provisions upon the subject at all. It is idle and useless to say that this is a matter that ought to be left to the conflicting laws of the different States. No one State has it within its power to protect itself from the importation of an epidemic.

In opposition to the bill, Mr. Mallory, of Florida, said:

On the plea of necessity the House of Representatives is asked once more to organize a raid upon State authority, to invade the sacred domain of personal liberty, to wrest from the local authorities of the States a power which up to this time has been exclusively theirs, and, in order to effectually secure these ends, to delegate to a single administrative officer its high legislative functions.

Although the Supreme Court had held in a prior decision that the power to establish quarantine laws rests with the States and has not been surrendered to the General Government, the law

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was nevertheless passed because the people of the country demanded it, there being no other effective method of protecting themselves against the introduction of contagious diseases.

From time to time the several States had enacted laws against the adulteration and misbranding of foods and drugs. These State enactments proved to be ineffective. Again the power of Congress under the Interstate Commerce clause of the Constitution was invoked. In 1902 a law was enacted which authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to establish standards of food and food products and to determine what are regarded as adulterations therein, for the guidance of the officers of the various States and the courts of justice. Some States enacted laws conforming to the standards as established. In the House of Representatives the majority report contained the following statement:

"We believe that everyone recognizes the necessity of governmental regulation to prevent the sale of adulterated, poisonous and other injurious food products." It was frankly stated that the object of the act was to obtain uniformity of food standards among the States, and then continued: "The necessity for pure food laws is apparent to everyone. Many of the States have endeavoured to meet this necessity as far as they can, but the several States have proven unable to fully deal with the matter when affected by interstate commerce in adulterated and misbranded articles. The laws and regulations of the different States are diverse, confusing and often contradictory."

In opposition to the enactment of the Pure Food and Drugs Act it was argued that the power to protect the people of the various States in health, in morals, and in general welfare is inherent in the States, was reserved to the States by the Constitution, was not delegated to the Congress of the United States, and remains to be exercised by the States at the will and pleasure of the legislatures of such States. In the case of *Plumley vs. Massachusetts*, 115 U. S. 461, it had been held by the Supreme Court of the United States that the State had the exclusive right to pass and endorse laws for the protection of the health and morals of its people and to prevent the sale of all articles manufactured in or brought from another State. The bill which became the Food and Drug Act passed in the House by a vote of

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243 to 17, and in the Senate by a vote of 63 to 4. The result of this law has been that nearly every manufactured article of food which now enters the household bears this legend: "Guaranteed under United States Pure Food Law." It is impossible to estimate the effect upon the public mind of this constant reiteration of Federal power. It has taught the people of the country to look to the Federal Government as their personal protector against adulterated and impure foods.

The rapid development of railroads in the decades immediately succeeding the Civil War brought with it many new questions. The owners and managers of these great properties regarded them as purely private and individual enterprises and so controlled and operated them. Many abuses grew up. Large shippers became the favored shippers. Rebates and discriminations in service, resulting in manifest injury and injustice, were practised. The Granger movement in the Middle West in the late 'seventies and in the early 'eighties expressed in some degree popular resentment against railroad domination. Attempts were made by the enactment of regulatory measures in various States to remedy this great and growing evil. However, the power of the States to deal with the matter was limited, and the railroad commission laws of the various States proved to be ineffective. It became apparent that if the railroads were to be effectually restrained it could be accomplished only through the exercise of Federal power. The growing demand for relief from this condition resulted in a long inquiry by Congress as to the extent of its power and authority in the premises. The result was the enactment of the first Interstate Commerce Law in 1887. It has been many times amended, but each amendment has conferred additional power upon the agents of the Federal Government. It was argued that Congress could not delegate to the Interstate Commerce Commission its power to regulate interstate commerce. In view of the fact that it was perfectly evident that Congress could not, even if it had the time, consider the multitudinous details affecting railroad rates and railroad service, imperative necessity required that some agency should be created which could give its exclusive time to the regulations of these great transportation agencies. The power to regulate

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railways and other means of transportation under the interstate commerce clause is plain and one that the framers of the Federal Constitution intended to confer upon Congress. No construction of that instrument was necessary to confer upon Congress the power to act in the premises. Nevertheless, the exercise of this power by Congress and the fact that its control was effective, whereas the control of the States had been ineffective, tended to center the attention of the people more and more upon the Federal Government as a means of relief from conditions with which the States could not or would not effectively deal.

The enactment in 1890 of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act was also plainly within the constitutional prerogative of Congress. Senator Sherman said:

> While we should not stretch the powers granted to Congress by strained construction, we cannot surrender any of them; they are not ours to surrender; but whenever occasion calls, we should exercise them for the benefit and protection of the people of the United States. And while I have no doubt that every word of this bill is within the powers granted to Congress, I feel that its defects are moderation and that its best effect will be a warning that all trade and commerce, all agreements and arrangements, all struggle for money or property, must be governed by the universal law that the public good must be the test of all.

In this statement we have the basis of the continual demands made upon Congress for the enactment of laws which were formerly thought to fall purely within the police power field. For the benefit and protection of the people of the United States the universal law is that the public good must be the test of all. This seems to state the very essence of the theory upon which Congress has continually acted in response to popular demand.

The system of rebates, discrimination in service, and other similar evils connected with railway transportation built up great trusts and monopolies, which resulted in the enactment of the anti-trust laws. These laws have been amended from time to time and the powers of the Federal officers extended in many respects. The Federal Trade Commission was created for the purpose of investigating and accumulating a mass of material as to the manner in which the business of the country is conducted, for the purpose no doubt of furnishing a basis for further legislation,

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On the ground that controversies between employers and employees were likely to interrupt the operations of interstate commerce carriers, the Board of Mediation and Conciliation was created by act of July 15, 1913. It was practically superseded by the Labor Board, created by the provisions of the Esch-Cummings Act. While the recommendations of the Board are as yet merely advisory, it may be fairly assumed, taking into consideration the history of other enactments in the same field, that they will shortly be made compulsory. Activities of the Department of Labor and of the Department of Agriculture, benefits to be secured under rivers and harbors bills, the demand for public buildings and national highways, have all served to emphasize the power of the Federal Government. Great areas of public land have been reserved from entry and are now held by the General Government for water power, mining, and other purposes. The instances enumerated by no means exhaust the list of Federal activities. Mention of the activities of the Government in the World War is not made because we are not yet far enough away from it to determine with any degree of certainty what its ultimate effect upon the extension of Federal power will be.

To the constitutional lawyer perhaps the most startling innovation was the enactment of the Mann Act. In 1875 a Federal act had made it illegal to import women for immoral purposes. Not being sufficiently effective the act was amended or another act passed in 1907. Even this did not reach the evil aimed at. By the passage of the Mann Act, the transportation or obtaining for transportation in interstate or foreign commerce of any woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution or any other immoral purpose was forbidden. Persuading, inducing, enticing or coercing any woman or girl to go from one State to another for acts thus made illegal is prohibited under heavy penalties. This law was severely criticised on constitutional grounds. It was argued that because the transportation of lottery tickets could be prohibited, not because the tickets themselves were harmful but because of the injurious connection between them and the entire lottery scheme, the interstate transportation of women for the purpose of immorality could also be made illegal. It was further

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agreed that the Supreme Court had held that the solicitation of business for a firm outside of its own State was a part of interstate commerce. The law has been upheld by at least four decisions of the United States Supreme Court. It was enacted in response to a popular demand and because the so-called white slave traffic had shocked the moral sense of the people.

The constitutionality of the Migratory Bird Act has been upheld on the ground that the law being enacted in the fulfillment of a treaty obligation is valid. The court said:

> No doubt the great body of private relations usually fall within the control of the State, but a treaty may override its power. . . . We see nothing in the Constitution that compels the Government to sit by while a food supply is cut off and the protectors of our forests and our crops are destroyed. It is not sufficient to rely upon the States. The reliance is vain. . . . (*Missouri vs. Holland*, 252 U. S. 416.)

The creation of the Postal Savings Bank, of the Federal Farm Loan Banks, the enactment of the Eight Hour Law, the creation of the Federal Reserve Board by the Federal Reserve Act, all have had a profound influence upon the country as a whole. President Jackson said in the 'thirties:

> The Bank of the United States possessed the power to make money plentiful or scarce at its pleasure at any time or at any place by controlling the issue of other banks and permitting an expansion or compelling a general contraction of the circulating medium according to its will.

He was at that time supported in this position by the large majority of the people.

The Federal Reserve Board was created for the express purpose of doing exactly the thing President Jackson condemned—expanding the currency of the country so as to meet changing conditions, and to contract it when the necessity for expansion is passed. There is no doubt that this act was passed to meet a pressing demand from the people. The experience of the country, particularly in the panics of 1893 and 1907, demonstrated the necessity for some means of meeting the exigencies of financial crises. Yet in the more purely agricultural regions of the Mississippi Valley there are today many indications of a strong reaction against the Federal Reserve Law. Its opponents to a surprising degree assert the same arguments against the law that

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were used by President Jàckson and his friends against the United States Bank.

The enactment of the Federal Income Tax has brought home to the people of the country more sharply than any other single act their relationship to the Federal Government. From 1880 to 1900 a man might have conducted a very large and extensive business in many fields without coming in contact with any representative of the Federal Government save perhaps the postal authorities. That condition is not likely to prevail again in this country. The regulatory measures enacted by Congress (under one pretext or another) touch the life of the people at almost every point.

During the World War, the Federal Government took over the operation of the railway and telegraph systems as a war measure. It is already apparent that this step is to have a far-reaching effect upon the transportation systems of the country. The advantages of unified control, direct routing and free exchange of equipment are so manifest, that measures to secure these advantages are likely to be resorted to in every transportation emergency. Already many proposals for consolidating the railways serving certain regions have been made. The decision of the United States Supreme Court in the case of *Railroad Commission vs. C. B. & Q. Ry. Co., 66 L. ed., Adv. Ops. (U. S.), 236,* indicates quite clearly that every transportation agency in the country is likely to be drawn into the Federal system, with the power and authority of the agents of the Federal Government vastly extended. Already the power of the States to regulate intra-state transportation is greatly limited. The recommendations contained in President Harding's last message (December, 1922) suggest the probability of fundamental changes along these lines.

A discussion of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States is omitted from this paper. Suffice it to say that as interpreted and applied, the amendment has had a profound influence upon the jurisprudence of the country. In the main, however, it is a guarantee of existing rights of citizens, and a prohibition upon State agencies, legislative, judicial, and executive. It does not confer upon the Federal Government

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additional powers, as is sometimes supposed. Its effect has been to enlarge the jurisdiction of the Federal courts, with the result that the people have looked more and more to the Federal courts for protection in the exercise of their guaranteed constitutional rights and privileges. While the State courts have recognized and enforced the provisions of the amendment, the final determination of questions arising under it has, of course, presented a Federal question for determination by the Federal courts.

We have noted that from the adoption of the Constitution down to the time of the Civil War, the States, as such, and the people of the entire country were constantly alert to see that the National Government did not encroach upon the reserved powers of the States. The maxim that that government governs best which governs least was applied to both the State and Federal Governments, but particularly to the activities of the Federal Government. America had not lost its intense individualism; on the contrary, during the first half of the nineteenth century that national characteristic was even accentuated, due no doubt to our vast frontiers, in the settlement of which the people had become necessarily independent and individualistic. The doctrine of States' Rights was prior to the Civil War invoked quite as often by the North as by the South and was the exclusive property of no section. Every real or supposed invasion by the National Government of the rights of the States was quickly resented, and thoughts of secession and nullification were easily aroused.

Comparing the period previous to the Civil War with the period subsequent to that time, it is evident that there has been a complete change in the attitude of the people themselves toward the Federal Government, and this, to the mind of the writer, is a significant and vital fact.

In addition to the laws above referred to reference should be made to the development of the census, the work of the Department of Agriculture, activity in educational matters, the growth and development of the Departments of Labor and of Commerce, the various projects in which the Government has engaged, such as the expansion of the public health service, the operation of parcel post, postal service, and reclamation, as indicating an in-

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creasing reliance of the people upon Federal agencies for the advancement of the general welfare. The enactment of any one of the laws above referred to was not in and of itself a particularly vital thing. As a matter of fact the enactment of any one of them may from some point of view be readily justified. The significant fact is that the people look to the Federal rather than to the State Government as the readiest and most effective agency for promoting the general welfare. Whether the activity of the Federal Government is an encroachment upon the powers of the several States, or whether it is merely the development or unfolding of the powers of the Federal Government granted but not heretofore exercised, does not matter. The significant thing is that the States as such and the people as a whole no longer question the rights of the Federal Government or seek to limit its activity. Given an apparent necessity for the enactment of a Federal statute, all other questions seemed to disappear from the mind of the people. Because their interest is not adversely affected by this increasing exercise of Federal power, the rights of the States as such, theoretically or practically, no longer interest the people.

It may well be argued that the attitude of the Supreme Court of the United States has undergone a change since the period of the Civil War. This change has come not so much in response to as it has as a part of the changed attitude of the people; it reflects the altered attitude of the public mind. In the Lottery case, Chief Justice Fuller, with Justices Brewer, Shiras, and Peckham concurring, dissented from the decision of the court. The grounds of dissent are stated in a very able opinion which presents logically and consistently the view that had theretofore prevailed:

> It will not do to say—a suggestion which has heretofore been made in this case—that state laws have been found to be ineffective for the suppression of lotteries, and therefore Congress should interfere. The scope of the commerce clause of the Constitution cannot be enlarged because of the present views of public interest.
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> The Constitution gives no countenance to the theory that Congress is vested with full powers of the British Parliament, and that, although subject to con-

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stitutional limitations, it is the sole judge of their extent and application; and the decisions of this court from the beginning have been to the contrary.

* * * * *

I regard the decision as inconsistent with the views of the framers of the Constitution, and of Marshall, its great expounder. Our form of government may remain notwithstanding legislation or decision, but, as long ago observed, it is with governments as with religions, the form may survive the substance of the faith. (188 U. S. 321, 372.)

Thus Chief Justice Fuller wrote in 1902. Since that time the Constitution has from time to time been so extended by construction as to give Congress authority over subjects which theretofore were supposed to be wholly within the jurisdiction of the several States. With the adoption of the Prohibition Amendment, Congress, by express sanction of the people themselves, was given authority in a field theretofore expressly reserved to the States. However widely the power of Congress might be extended under the Interstate Commerce clause, it would not effect prohibition, either in the manufacture, transportation or sale of intoxicating liquors within the States. Because of the fact that State and local regulations were ineffective, the Eighteenth Amendment was sought and procured. The Constitution was thus amended, not by construction or interpretation, but in the manner provided in that instrument, to give Congress powers in a strictly police power field in respect to intoxicating beverages.

The enforcement of this constitutional provision, which confers concurrent powers upon the State and Federal Governments, has served to disclose in a most startling manner the changed attitude of the people of the wealthiest and most populous State in the Union in respect to State and Federal activity in the police power field. The State of New York adopted an enforcement act known as the Mullan-Gage law. On May 5, 1923, the Legislature by a decisive vote passed a bill repealing the enforcement act. The Governor withheld executive approval of the bill until all parties in interest could be heard. While the voice of protest against the repeal of the act was loud and insistent both in the Legislature and before the Governor, it was not urged by anyone that, as has been pointed out by the President, the repeal of the

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law amounted to an abdication by the State of its rights and duties in respect to the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment. No other interpretation can be placed upon the action of the State of New York in this respect, unless it can be said that the State enforcement law was repealed with the expectation that the Eighteenth Amendment and the provisions of the Volstead Act would not be enforced at all in the State of New York. This supposition is scarcely tenable. If it is, the act of the State of New York amounts to nullification by inaction. It is equivalent to revolt by passive resistance. The attempted nullification of Federal law by a State has never yet failed to bring about increasing activity on the part of the Federal Government and a corresponding diminution of State activity. However, the most significant fact is that the State of New York in 1923 renounced the duties and obligations imposed upon it by the Eighteenth Amendment, which was approved by it in 1919. We think more and more as citizens of the United States and less and less as citizens of a particular State. In 1919 the legislature of Wisconsin had before it for consideration more than twenty-five resolutions dealing directly with Federal subjects. This is only one of many things which confirms the student in the belief that the change which is evidenced in so many ways is fundamental and to a large extent will be permanent.

There has come into existence during recent years, by accident or design, an extra-constitutional method, by which the Federal Government has sought to influence and control State Governments. Stated in plain terms, the Federal Government says to the States: Here is an appropriation which is available to you upon certain conditions. As a rule these conditions are that a like amount shall be appropriated by the State Government for the purpose indicated in the bill making the Federal appropriation. There is a further stipulation that certain conditions relating to intra-State affairs are to be complied with as a condition of receiving Federal aid. This scheme, by which the Federal Government in effect exercises legislative power in relation to education, public health, and other kindred subjects strictly within the police power of the States, is an innovation upon our constitutional system.

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There seems to be no limit to the activities of the Federal Government when the matter is approached from this angle. So far the writer is aware there has been no attack upon these measures on the ground that they provide for the expenditure of Federal funds for purposes not authorized by the Constitution. Conditions may be attached to these appropriations which would prevent for practical reasons acceptance by any but certain States. As the laws would operate only in the States which accept the conditions, to that extent the uniformity of Federal laws would be destroyed. By means of this method the Federal Government in effect purchases a right to interfere in the local affairs of the States which accept the Federal bounty. One can better imagine than describe the protest that would have followed this procedure in the days preceding the Civil War.

Since the Civil War our population has been largely increased by foreign immigration. These foreign peoples have been accustomed to strong central governments, and are not attached, as were the early colonists, to the principle of local self-government. The changed attitude of our people as a whole toward the Federal as opposed to the State Government, has been due in part to the altered character of our population. Americanization may well have for one of its objects the reëstablishment in the minds and hearts of our native as well as our foreign born citizens the ideals embodied in the Declaration of Independence and our Constitutions, State and Federal.

Consideration of the trend of events which has in the last fifty years wrought such fundamental changes in our national life naturally leads one to think of the future. One cannot help reflecting upon the effect which still further increase of Federal power will have upon the nation, and of the forces which tend to diminish or accelerate such increase. No one can foresee what the effect of the increasing activity of the Federal Government and the increasing dependence of the people upon it will be. In a country of vast territorial extent, containing one hundred and ten million people, administrative powers must be exercised by commissions or by subordinate officials. The creation of commissions and other similar administrative agencies must result in a continual augmentation of Federal authority and Federal

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power. These commissions and agencies, far removed from the people, neither elected by them nor responsible to them, continually reach out for more and more power and authority. Once established it is practically impossible to dislodge them. The War developed the fact that these boards, bureaus, and commissions have over-lapping jurisdictions, and that in some instances at least, a half dozen different agencies may at the same time be doing substantially the same work, covering the same field, with varying results. The scope of the work undertaken by these various agencies is so vast that it prevents adequate and effective supervision and division of powers. Year by year the dividing line between the exercise of executive and judicial powers fades. Administrative boards in many instances exercise to all practical intent and purpose judicial as well as administrative powers. Within their field they are supreme, and not subject to constitutional limitations. The people submit without much protest because power can be more effectively exerted through a centralized agency than it can be through local agencies which must of necessity be numerous and of varying capacity and efficiency. The work of the Draft Board during the late war is a striking example of the efficiency of a centralized as opposed to a decentralized administrative machinery which performed a like service during the period of the Civil War.

We have no method by which members of the Cabinet or administrative agencies can be made directly responsible to the people, and in this respect our governmental machinery is incomplete. Whether readjustments can be made which will bring about a more immediate responsibility of these agencies; or whether some form of correlation can be achieved; or whether the present policy will be followed and additional commissions and administrative agencies created until the system shall finally break of its own weight, is a grave question. Their value is so great that the people hesitate to limit unduly their activities, but there are diverse signs of reaction against their number, and what is regarded by many as their meddlesome activity.

Under our constitution Federal statutes and laws must operate uniformly and equally throughout the length and breadth of the land. That we have wide diversities of local interest, economic

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and social, was brought out clearly during the war; Federal enactments are not only uniform, but they are rigid in their operation, and there is little room for adjustment to local conditions. The vast amount of business brought before Congress makes it almost impossible for a single State or section to obtain a speedy and impartial hearing. The tendency, therefore, is for the whole Government to become more and more rigid, less and less responsive to the demands of particular States, sections, or interests. If a Federal law operates oppressively upon the people of any section, with no opportunity for the people of that section to obtain a hearing before Congress in order to secure adequate relief; further, if injustice results and their economic interests become strong enough, there will be a tendency, at least, for them to assert their rights in some other way.

The Federal Government is to most of our people a distant and far-away thing, to which their sense of responsibility is not present and immediate, but is remote and indefinite. If we are to remain a democracy care must be taken that the people of the country are made to feel their responsibility as citizens and to exercise their rights as such.

One of the reasons, as has been already stated, why the people turn to the Federal Government for relief is that the Federal laws are much more effective than are State laws. The reason they are more effective is that they are more rigidly enforced. The reason they are more rigidly enforced is that they are enforced by strangers who are not influenced by local considerations. An internal revenue officer has no hesitancy in sending a violator of the Federal law to jail or compelling him to pay a fine, while the local factory inspector or dairy inspector may be subject to many local influences. If the Federal Government is to enter the police power field and attempt to regulate, under one pretext or another, the lives of the people, there will be a growing tendency to regard the Federal Government more and more as a thing apart from the people. Whatever the Government may do in theory, it will in actual practice grow further and further from the people.

Powers once exercised by the Federal Government are seldom if ever voluntarily surrendered. In the police power field the powers of the Federal and the State Governments are to a cer-

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tain extent concurrent, but under Article VI of the Constitution of the United States, in case of conflict the Federal laws are supreme. Practically speaking, any increase of Federal power [illegible] by means of amendment, interpretation or construction, or by the exercise of powers granted but not heretofore exercised, must result in a like diminution of the powers of the respective States, and so lessen the people's sense of civic responsibility.

The framers of the Federal Constitution considered it an experiment. They felt that it would succeed if the Federal Government remained within its field and its powers were not encroached upon by the States. The tendency towards centralization which was feared by those who opposed the adoption of the Constitution has become a fact. This growth has been the result mainly of two great influences: First, the fact of unrestricted intercourse, commercial and social, between the various States. The result of this intercourse has been to draw together all parts of the country in the accomplishment of a common purpose. The second great influence has been the marvelous development of facilities for travel and communication resulting from the inventions and discoveries of the past century. These influences operate together and each is to a certain extent dependent upon the other. It would be impossible to keep this country united but for modern improvements of travel and communication. Today San Francisco is nearer in a commercial and social sense to New York than was Richmond, Virginia, at the time the Constitution was adopted. The manufactured products of each State find their way into every other State of the Union. There is constant travel in connection with business and pleasure from one part of the country to the other.

The object of the framers of the Federal Constitution was to create a Central Government which would be mobile, elastic and responsive to the needs of the people. If the tendency to centralization continues there is likely to be, as has been pointed out, a diminishing interest on the part of the people in governmental affairs, the Government will tend to grow more and more bureaucratic in its methods, State Governments will tend to become less and less efficient, and we shall thus ultimately bring upon ourselves the very evils which the framers of the Constitu-

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oid. The tendency to centralization is due id consciously to the fact that the Federal Gover- e efficient in the exercise of its powers than is the State ent.

Moreover, State Governments often fail or refuse to act in matters where action is highly desirable. Large social interests are not bounded by State lines. Child labour in the South or in the West is as abhorrent to the resident of New York as is child labour in New York itself. The refusal of certain States to enact appropriate legislation on this subject has resulted in a nation-wide propaganda for action by the Federal Government. In holding the recent child labour legislation by Congress unconstitutional, the court applied a fundamental principle of law which has been asserted and reasserted times without number throughout our history; but because in this instance its assertion frustrated what is thought by many to be a laudable purpose, the court is severely criticised. Already there is on foot a proposal that an amendment to the Federal Constitution be adopted conferring upon Congress the right to legislate in this field, thus still further extending the jurisdiction of Congress in the domain of the purely police power. This situation, perhaps as vividly as any, illustrates the reason for continuing appeals to Congress for relief from what are largely local conditions. The matter of child labour is not affected by transportation as was the traffic in intoxicating beverages, which was in a way thus beyond the power of the States. Each State has ample power to deal with this subject. Many States refused to deal with it and other States failed to deal with it effectively; hence the appeal to Congress.

If further increase of Federal power is to be avoided, it can only be accomplished by efficient action on the part of the States concerning questions that are of vital interest not only to the people of a particular State but to the people of the surrounding States. Such action can be brought about only by arousing intelligent public sentiment on such questions. Men of business and training in various lines have in recent years paid all too little attention to the affairs of government. Lawyers as a class still take an active and intelligent interest in public affairs.

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Physicians and clergymen have a more limited
this is true of all the learned professions. The
commercial and industrial world, as a class, have withdrawn themselves almost entirely from the public service. Men of experience, position, and training no longer offer themselves for service either in the executive or legislative departments of our Government. The writer has no patience with the criticisms that are made upon those persons who do undertake this arduous and unrewarded service. But unless our leaders in industry, in commerce and transportation (not merely presidents and heads of great enterprises, but their subordinates who have any responsible administrative duties) take a more intelligent and active interest in public affairs, governmental authority will be exercised more and more by the Federal Government. Powers which need to be exercised will be exercised by some one; if not by those who should exercise them, then by someone else. What this country needs most is more willingness on the part of men of affairs to sacrifice their individual interests to the general welfare.

If the increasing burden of taxation which has necessarily followed the war has the effect of arousing on the part of our leading men in commerce, industry and transportation, a live interest in public affairs, great good to the country as a whole will result. It is not enough that our leading men interest themselves only in killing off measures proposed by others; they should come forward with a constructive programme based upon the welfare of the State and nation as a whole. It is not enough for them merely to care for their own selfish interests. If they are not willing to give of their time, energy and ability in unselfish service to the State, the time will come when they will sincerely regret it. A business or enterprise which finds itself hampered or restrained by Federal law is bound as with bands of steel. If one regulatory measure after another is to be adopted, making our laws more rigid and inelastic, the time will come when civil liberty, in the sense in which our grandfathers understood that term, will have been lost.

When Mr. Gladstone said, "The American Constitution is the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain

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and purpose of man," he ignored the fact that the Constitution was in reality the natural growth and development of English law and colonial self-government. It was in fact an evolution out of the colonial experience of the thirteen States plus their experience under the Articles of Confederation. The construction, interpretation, and amendment of the Constitution have likewise been a part of an evolutionary process which is still going on. The result has demonstrated the genius of the Anglo-Saxon people for self-government. We must be a part of and direct the evolutionary process along right lines if we are to avoid revolutionary changes in the future.

MARVIN B. ROSENBERRY.

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JAPAN AND NATURAL RESOURCES IN ASIA

BY W. W. WILLOUGHBY

RECENT years have given great importance to the question of the right, as determined by international law or international comity, of one State to have access to or the use of the natural resources of other States. Especially is this a question of vital interest to Japan and China—to Japan because of her need to obtain supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials from abroad; and to China because of the danger lest other nations will be tempted to overstep the limits of international law and international comity in the effort to obtain for their own use the natural resources which China's soil supplies. The recent conference in Washington cast some sidelights upon this question which deserve careful consideration.

Japan finds herself in the following situation: The population of her homeland has already reached a considerable degree of density, and is still increasing. Just how rapid this increase is does not certainly appear from the authentic figures that are available, but it is probably in the neighborhood of half a million annually. The amount of additional land that it is practicable for Japan to bring under cultivation is not great, although it is probable that, if more scientific modes of irrigation were introduced, the food-producing capacity of the homelands could be somewhat increased. Also, if the Japanese could be trained or persuaded to rely less exclusively upon rice, their food problem would be rendered less perplexing to them. However, do what they will, the Japanese are undoubtedly confronted with an increasingly serious situation, unless their increase in numbers can be checked.

It now seems fairly clear that the Japanese themselves recognize that they cannot hope to solve their population problem by means of emigration. There is no reasonable hope that they

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will be received in any considerable numbers by those countries, like the United States, Canada, New Zealand and Australia, where they can successfully compete economically with the native populations. It is equally clear that the Japanese are not able to compete upon anything like equal terms with the natives of Asia or Polynesia. Even in Korea, despite the encouragement given them by colonization societies and the favoring aid of their own Government, they have had little success as settlers upon the soil. It is evident, therefore, that future increases in the Japanese population must be taken care of in Japan itself. This of course means that Japan must continue that process of industrialization and commercialization of her economic life which has already made such considerable progress. This in turn means that she must be able to import foodstuffs and raw materials in increasing quantities, for, unfortunately for her, she has within her own borders small supplies of coal and minerals.

This situation has led Japanese statesmen of recent years to lay great emphasis upon what they have termed Japan's "economic right to existence". This doctrine appears with significant emphasis in the correspondence leading up to the establishment, in 1920, of the new International Banking Consortium, as well as in certain declarations made by the Japanese delegation in the Washington conference. It has also found statement in a remarkable paper prepared by the late Premier of Japan, Takashi Hara only a few weeks before his most lamentable assassination. The importance of these declarations or statements of right justify a review and critical examination of them.

As is well known, Japan, in her correspondence with the British and American Governments, strove to have excepted from the activities of the proposed banking consortium for the making of foreign industrial loans to China, loans relating to Manchuria and Mongolia where, it was declared, Japan had "special interests". In its argument in support of this exception, the Japanese Government several times referred to the matter of Japan's national economic existence and asserted, in effect, that her interests in Manchuria and Mongolia were essential to her own economic existence and constituted, as it were, an integral part of that existence. Thus, in its memorandum of March 2,

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1920, the Japanese Government declared that "from the nature of the case, the regions of South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia which are contiguous to Korea stand in very close and special relation to Japan's national defense and her economic existence. Enterprises launched forth in these regions, therefore, often involve questions vital to the safety of the country. This is why Japan has special interests in these regions and has established there special rights of various kinds." This memorandum closed with a formula which the Powers participating in the consortium were asked to adopt, according to which "In matters relating to loans affecting South Manchuria and Eastern Inner Mongolia, which in their opinion are calculated to create a serious impediment to the security of the economic life and national defense of Japan, the Japanese Government reserve the right to take the necessary steps to guarantee such security." This reservation, the memorandum declared, was indispensable to the existence of the Japanese State and people, and was based "on the paramount importance of the economic existence and national security, coupled with a due regard for the general peace of the Far East."

The British Government declared, in its reply to this memorandum, that it clearly recognized the legitimate desire of the Japanese nation to be assured of the supplies of food and raw material necessary to her economic life and her justifiable wish strategically to protect and maintain the Korean frontier, but that they could not assent to a formula that seemed to imply the possession by Japan of a special sphere of interest in particular regions of China, nor could it be believed that, in order to meet Japan's legitimate needs, it was essential that Japan alone should construct and control certain railway lines west of the South Manchuria Railway, which the Japanese memorandum had referred to.

The American reply was even more emphatic. In its memorandum of March 16, it said that Japan's proposition could not be reconciled with the principle of the independence and territorial integrity of China; that, as to the proposed formula, the right of national self-preservation is one of universal acceptance in the relations between States and therefore does not require

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formulation as to its application in any particular instance, and that the principle was implicit in the terms of the Lansing-Ishii notes of November 2, 1917. The Government of Japan, it added, had no occasion to apprehend on the part of the consortium any activities directed against the economic life or national defense of Japan, and that Japan could rely with entire assurance upon the good faith of the United States and of the other two Powers associated in the consortium to refuse their countenance to any operation inimical to the vital interests of Japan. The British Government gave substantially similar general assurances to the Japanese Government.

In its communication of April 3, the Japanese Government noted these assurances, and, in reliance thereupon, withdrew its proposed formula.

It will be observed that, in this correspondence, neither the British nor the American Government gave recognition to any right upon the part of Japan, in the exercise of its general right of self-preservation, to take any action within Manchuria or Mongolia that would be in derogation of the sovereign territorial rights of China, or that might be founded upon a general superiority of rights (to use a phrase later employed by Secretary Hughes) within any designated region of China. All that the British and American Governments did engage to do was to refuse their countenance to any enterprises directed against the economic existence or defense of Japan. Of course, aside from any express engagement, it is, under any circumstances, an unfriendly act for one nation to give its support to undertakings directed against the existence of another State. Thus the matter stood when the Washington conference convened.

It is clear enough that, in that conference, the Japanese Government made statements and signed agreements which, if carried out in good faith, will prevent it from again raising a claim to special rights or interests in China that will be in derogation of the rights or interests of other Powers, or which will in any wise be inconsistent with the sovereignty and territorial and administrative integrity of China. In doing this, Japan is now precluded not only by the general principles of international law and comity but also by her own formally given undertakings.

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As regards the matter of her national economic existence, and, as connected therewith, the obtaining of an adequate supply of foodstuffs and raw materials for her people, Japan, at the second meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions, made the following statement:

> We adhere without condition or reservation to the principle of the Open Door or equal opportunity in China. We look to China in particular for the supply of raw materials essential to our industrial life, and for foodstuffs as well. In the purchase of such materials from China, as well as in all our trade relations with that country, we do not claim any special rights or privileges, and we welcome fair and honest competition with all nations.

This is a declaration satisfactory in every way, and it is to be hoped that it will be faithfully followed. It was, however, somewhat disturbing to China, and, no doubt, to the other Powers, later to find that, in justification of her refusal to abandon the leased Kwantung district, Japan should have pointed to the fact that that district was a part of Manchuria "where, by reason of its close propinquity to Japan's territory more than anything else, she has vital interests in that which relates to her economic life and national safety."

Furthermore, at the twentieth meeting of the Committee on Pacific and Far Eastern Questions the Japanese delegation submitted a formal statement in which it called attention to the richness of China's natural resources; expressed the hope that China would grant to foreigners, as far as possible, the opportunity of coöperation in the development and utilization of those resources; and said that it would be gratified to receive from China a spontaneous declaration as to her future policy in this regard.

It is to be hoped that, in these statements, there was not intended to be implied any right upon the part of Japan to claim that anything more than friendly persuasion can be applied to China in order that the Japanese people may obtain an assured and adequate supply of the foodstuffs and raw materials which they may deem to be necessary to their economic existence.

Replying to this request for a "spontaneous" statement, it will be remembered that, on February 2, Mr. Sze, speaking in behalf of the Chinese delegation, said that China's natural re-

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sources were already accessible to all under the normal operation of the economic law of supply and demand. "Consistent with the vital interests of the Chinese nation and the security of its economic life," he said, "China will continue, on her own accord, to invite the coöperation of foreign capital and skill in the development of her natural resources."

It is universally recognized that a country has the first claim upon the natural resources of its own soil, and may rightfully exploit or conserve them in accordance with the economic needs of its own people, whose needs rightfully take precedence of the needs of other peoples. As for Manchuria and Mongolia, the Chinese Government can, without difficulty, demonstrate that their forests, lands, and sub-surface treasures will be urgently needed by the Chinese themselves, and this too within the very near future. For some years now, Manchuria and Mongolia have furnished outlets for the surplus populations of other of China's provinces, and, with the rapidly increasing industrialization of China, it is certain that the coal and minerals of the Mongolian and Manchurian mines will be needed for home use or manufacturing. As Dr. Koo said, in answer to the Japanese statement which has been earlier quoted: "It is clear that China has such truly vital interests in Manchuria that the interests of any foreign Power therein, however important they may be in themselves, cannot compare with them. The fact of close propinquity of Manchuria to Korea, if it justifies any claim to consideration, can be equitably appealed to only on the condition of reciprocity"—that is, one that would give to the Chinese in Korea the same privileges as might be claimed by the Japanese in Manchuria.

The foregoing discussion furnishes an introduction to a thesis maintained by the late Premier Hara in the paper to which earlier reference has been made. This thesis, while not a new one, gains additional interest and importance when accepted and urged for world adoption by such a distinguished statesman. (Mr. Hara's paper entitled *Reflections on Lasting Peace* was published in *The Tokyo Diplomatic Review* of September 15, 1921; and republished in English translation in *The Living Age* of January 7, 1922.) He says that if one starts with the proposition

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that no nation has a right to compel another nation to commit suicide—

> It follows that it is the great duty of every government today to open wide its economic doors, and to extend to all peoples free access to what is vital to existence, and thus to save the more unfortunate from unnatural misery and discrimination. . . . The "open door" and the abolition of world barriers must be our policy, as it is the first principle of a lasting peace. We Japanese in particular are suffering from the increasing difficulty of living, attributable to our ever waxing population and our ever waning resources. Were any people to reach a point where their entire energy was inevitably devoted to earning a bare subsistence, and no energy was left them for attaining higher spiritual and cultural ideals, that people would indeed be facing a mighty dark future. We tremble to think that our people are often threatened with uncertainty as to even the necessaries of life. Their condition ought to be remedied and greater freedom be given the Japanese, if the world expects her to be the keystone to the arch of peace of the Far East, and a faithful supporter of the welfare of the world. Thus, even a single example shows beyond a doubt the absolute dependence of lasting peace upon the "open door". By "open door" I do not mean a complete throwing down of national boundary stones. What I have in mind is the removal of the economic insecurity of some peoples by extending to them the opportunity for free access to the world's resources, eliminating other artificial economic barriers, and adjusting as much as possible the inequality arising from the earlier discriminations of nature and of history.

Here we have frankly applied to nations that same principle with regard to the distribution of so-called "gifts of nature" which certain economists or sociologists have sought to have adopted as between individual human beings. Its international adoption would of course mean the abrogation of all tariff barriers, of all restraints upon immigration and emigration, and the repeal of all laws imposing limitations upon aliens with regard to land-holding, to ownership and operation of mines or ships, or to any other economic activities or enterprises.

This occasion does not offer an opportunity to discuss the abstract or inherent justice of this Communistic principle, whether as applied to nations or to individuals. It is sufficient for our purposes to say that the chance that it will be adopted by the nations of the world is so remote as to take it out of the realm of practical politics. If, then, this be admitted, in what position is Japan left? Premier Hara implies that, unless Japan is allowed

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to share in the resources of other nations—and he evidently has China especially in mind—Japan cannot be counted upon to aid in the maintenance of peace. From his statements the conclusion seems to follow that if China should refuse to make her natural assets sufficiently available to Japan, that would be equivalent to a demand upon China's part that Japan should commit national suicide, or at least that she should acquiesce in a life for her people that would be one only of bare existence.

Should Japan attempt to claim in China or elsewhere rights of trade or of economic exploitation based upon her economic necessities, there are two countervailing arguments that China or any other Power concerned may adduce.

In the first place it may be said that the misfortunes or needs of one State give to it no ethical or moral right to violate the rights of another State, any more than they justify, in private law, the seizure by one individual of another individual's property. The doctrine that to desire or to need a thing is sufficient to authorize a State to take by force the objects desired or needed was of course Germany's doctrine when it declared that it had a right to gain for itself a place in the sun. It is scarcely to be conceived that, when this is seen to be its essential character, Japan will wish to advocate or practice the doctrine.

In the second place, it can of course be shown that this is not Japan's only alternative. As other industrialized countries have done, she can dispose in the open market of her manufactured products, and, in return, purchase, in free competition with the other peoples, the foodstuffs and raw materials which her subjects may need. This process will be limited only by the ability of the Japanese to develop an efficient economic and industrial machinery and an adequately trained body of workers. Surely, should she find herself unable to do this to an extent that will enable her to compete with the workmen of other countries, she cannot thereupon claim special rights of economic or political exploitation outside of her own borders.

In truth, if the processes which have operated in other parts of the world operate also in Japan as we may expect they will, it will be found that her population will accommodate itself in the matter of numbers to the standards of living that prevail in

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Japan. That is to say, the standard of economic comfort being given, the population by a process of natural increase or decrease will be determined by the available supply of economic goods. Japan, therefore, need not necessarily look forward to a time pictured by Premier Hara, when her people will be obliged to devote themselves exclusively to maintaining a bare existence without opportunities for culture and the enjoyment of what are termed the luxuries of life. If her people become educated to a higher standard of life, the birth rate will decrease until these standards become maintainable. This may mean that Japan cannot look forward to as large a population as her political ambitions may seem to make desirable, but surely this will not be employed as an argument in defense of an aggressive foreign policy.

In result, then, if we squarely face the present political situation in the Far East, it is seen that it is still one that needs to be carefully watched. If China has within herself recuperative powers, so that, within a reasonable time, she will be able to establish an efficient national Government, and if Japan loyally abides by the undertakings into which she entered in the Washington conference, one may look forward to an increasingly satisfactory condition of affairs in the Far East. But if either or both of these desiderata are not realized, the abilities of the Western Powers will be taxed to maintain peace and mutual accord. Japan continues in possession of interests, and in the exercise of alleged rights, in Manchuria which, if she were without scruples, would enable her to dominate that vast and rich area.

W. W. Willoughby.

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CERTAIN BELGIAN PERSONALITIES

BY CHARLES H. SHERRILL

"HEY, Bill, is that Amsterdam coming in?" "No, it's Paris 4-40 going out!" shouted a couple of porters one to the other as our motor car drew up before the last building in a strange street of that very strange town which is the airplane village at Croydon, just outside London. Along both sides of this street stretch large houses of light blue, yellow, pink, brown, dark blue, etc., each the headquarters of one of the numerous airplane companies running lines from this, the largest airplane centre in the world. A short run out from the heart of London, a ticket bought just as one buys a railway ticket, and you are off by air-liners to most of the capitals on the Continent. Besides these regular liners, there are also air-taxis waiting to take you to any place you may indicate. It was only a few years ago that we read with supercilious amusement Kipling's fantastic stories of the distant future when there would be an airway station dispatching and receiving airships; and now it actually exists!

Through the doorway at which our taxicab halts come other voices. "Have you any spirits or tobacco to declare?" Evidently a customhouse inspector is at work; and, surely enough, when we enter, there stands a row of passengers from a newly arrived airplane, opening their bags for his inspection just as if they had landed from a common everyday boat or train, instead of having descended from the clouds overhead. And with what precision these bird vessels alight—swooping down, and running along the earth until their landing wheels come right up to the edge of the gravel path before the customhouse, not within a few yards or even feet, but within a few inches of it. All sorts and conditions of air vessels are here—a great yellow twenty-seater, with two huge propellers in front, alongside a small blue two-seater; and so they vary all down the long row. It is difficult to decide which has the more fascinating interest, the deft

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guidance of those arriving, or the soaring flight of the departing craft. But now the time has come for our departure. "All aboard for Brussels!" and if it be our first experience, there is no denying that it gives one a sensation. The porters pick up the bags, we walk over and climb the steps into the comfortable little cabin, the door is shut, and it is too late to draw back! The day after my own first trip I felt rather amused at the sensation the starting had caused me, for once the experience was over it fell back into the commonplace. Five days later the plane that had carried me so comfortably fell into the Channel and all hands were drowned!

The door of the cabin is shut, a few sharp commands outside, the roar of the propeller, and we are off on our two hour and a quarter trip to Belgium. If you expect any sensation of rising you will be disappointed. Instead, the earth seems slowly to sink below you, while you remain stationary except for slight lurches now and again, such as one experiences when an automobile swings round a corner. The landscape dropping lower and lower looks exactly what newspaper pictures have taught one to expect. The roads are winding white ribbons, but a railway line is not so easy to follow, for here the ribbon is dirty. When the Channel is reached you are surprised to find that it looks more like a wide river than the broad stretch of water that makes so many bad sailors unhappy for a dreadful hour and a half. Up aloft we sweep comfortably across in less than fifteen minutes. One soon becomes accustomed to the great noise of the propellers, but are reminded that it exists when we try to shout to our neighbour. How deafening is this noise comes home to us on arrival at our destination, for after the power is shut off we circle around and with a slight jar touch and run along the earth to a full stop, and can hear nothing at all. It will be several minutes before this deafness wears off.

It is most appropriate that we should have arrived by air, for no governmental Chief in the world has taken such active interest in the practical development of flying as has the King of the Belgians. Do not imagine that it is merely a favourite sport of King Albert—far from it. He uses his airplane solely to enable him to economize his sorely taxed offical time. When in 1921 he was returning from Morocco he did the journey by airplane

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relays, and the time saved in the last one from Paris to Brussels, flown in his own airplane, enabled him to advance by a whole day an important Cabinet meeting. Also he sees great commercial advantages ahead if flying can be made popular. Just as his great-grandfather, King Louis Philippe of France, rode in railway trains when it took courage to do so, in order to demonstrate to the public the practicability of railways, so King Albert uses his airplane for necessary travel to give a similar example. Furthermore, there is another reason, especially Belgian, for the King to make this practical use of airplanes, and it has to do with something of the highest importance to Belgium's future—the Belgian Congo. Here is a vast virgin territory stretching far and wide into the heart of Africa, possessing an undeveloped wealth of raw products that today defies computation. Its possibilities are better known to the King than to most Belgians, because he traveled there extensively before he came to the throne. If the Belgian Congo is to be developed by no other means than the slow transportation of river steamers, or must await the construction of extensive railways in a difficult country, then a delay of decades must be faced. On the other hand, if the use of airplanes can be made popular, then Belgium will soon be gaining large national dividends upon an asset secured to her people by the sagacious foresight of King Leopold II. Therefore, King Albert's interest in flying should prove a businesslike example exceedingly useful in opening up with the least delay the opportunities of the Congo for serious commercial exploitation. Already the Belgians have linked together its principal points by wireless, so that a message will reach a town even up by distant Lake Tanganyika the same day it is sent from Brussels. And already, thanks to the King's enterprising example, the untutored savage in those distant wilds is beginning to see the great birds of commerce flying over his astounded head. An amusing tale is told of one native who insisted to a European traveler that there were male and female airplanes. "But how can you tell which is which?" "They generally fly in couples, and you can tell that the one in front is the male because he settles down first to select a good landing place for his mate."

No, it is not as sportsman that the King uses his airplane for

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traveling, but as a far-seeing practical-minded monarch, with vast colonial possessions abroad, needing development for the good of his people.

As a matter of fact, King Albert is a sportsman with a favourite sport to which he is much devoted, and that is mountain climbing. Even among accomplished Alpinists his mountain ascents are held in high respect, and his steady head and true beating heart, trained on mountain peaks, serve him well in an airplane.

For nearly thirty years, King Albert has been a devotee of this strenuous and hazardous sport. What most impresses his Alpine guides is that he requires little or no training for these feats of endurance, and if the weather permits insists upon making ascents day after day, with none of the customary days of rest between. In 1920, with only five days at his disposal between his arrival from and his departure for Brussels, he ascended the Grépon, the crossing of the two Dru, and the Monk's Needle. His list of hazardous ascents, some of them made in bad weather, is too long to print here. They include all the more difficult of the practicable peaks both in the Engadine and Tyrol, and have earned him such a reputation as an ardent and intrepid Alpinist as to elect him an Honorary Member of the British Alpine Club.

Our object in visiting Belgium is to study her leading personalities—her output of statesmen. Where else were there surpassed in their widely differing spheres King Albert, Cardinal Mercier, or Burgomeister Max, or a woman braver under fire or more unremitting in such womanly tasks as nursing than the Queen? And the Belgian people, too, men, women, and children —their stubborn endurance during the black years of the war was more than heroic. Who shall say if there be not something in Belgium's atmosphere that develops heroes, something tonic to foreigners as well as to natives? For we must remember the gallant conduct of our own Minister, Brand Whitlock, and his Spanish colleague, the Marquis of Villalobar. Is it not fair to give Belgium some of the credit for their admirable behaviour in those days of stress and strain?

To facilitate our study of Belgium's representative personalities, let us time our visit so as to see her capital *en fête* to

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receive the King and Queen of Spain. They are to arrive at 11 a.m. Punctually at 11 the first gun of the royal salute booms out to announce that the train is drawing into the Gare du Nord. After a greeting by the Belgian sovereigns, the four royalties with their immediate suites enter five State carriages, each drawn by four horses guided by gorgeous red and gold postilions, with two equally gaudy footmen behind. The troops lining the streets leading to the Palace come smartly to attention, and the glittering cortêge sets off upon its way between cheering crowds. Whenever the leading carriage comes abreast of a regimental flag, the King of Spain, attired as a Spanish General, rises and salutes the colours. He is a good sized man, but even at that the Belgian King overtops him. In the second carriage the Belgian Queen is similarly overtopped by Queen Victoria of Spain. On dash the State carriages and their clattering cavalry escort, the cheering grows fainter, the crowds dwindle away, and there remain only the gay Spanish and Belgian flags adorning the house fronts to show that the royal Spaniards have just passed that way.

So different, one from the other, were those four royalties as to cause constant comment during the next few days. Both the Kings are fine upstanding men, yet their types physically are antipodean; one is a tall, vigorous mountain climber and the other a lithe, dashing polo player. And it is good snappy polo that King Alfonso plays, as all of us can testify who saw him at Deauville last summer, whither he came to indulge in his favourite sport, playing as the Duke of Toledo on the Madrid team. Incidentally, they took home with them three handsome sets of cups, won by hard riding and straight hitting from first class polo competitors. Both these Kings are intensely popular with their subjects. It is a widely accepted saying that if Spain became a republic tomorrow, King Alfonso would be elected its first President. This would be equally true of King Albert in Belgium. And the two Queens—here was even a greater contrast than between the two Kings. Queen Victoria, a tall, strikingly handsome blonde, stately of figure and carriage, and gracious of manner; Queen Elizabeth, slender and petite, with markedly intelligent eyes and of a rarely attractive feminity.

This official visit happened to coincide in time with two serious

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happenings in Belgium's affairs, *viz.*, the receipt of Germany's reparations offer and preparation of the reply, and a threatened general strike by the employees of the State railways, for in Belgium all are government-owned. At the head of the constitutional Government is a Prime Minister peculiarly well equipped to deal with so considerable a financial problem as German reparations, George Theunis, a trained banker. He laughingly insists that this is his only qualification for that high office, alleging that he possesses no political preparation. The observer comes to an entirely different conclusion. Mr. Theunis had to be much in evidence during these crowded few days of the Spanish visit, and though he was always calm and pleasant of aspect, it was easy to see that he grudged the time taken from official business piling up in his office. Any man who could dispatch the volume of urgent affairs then imminent, and yet imperturbably represent in public his high office, does not need many lessons in practical politics. Both he and his able coadjutor, Henri Jaspar, Minister for Foreign Affairs, seem perfectly to realize the value of America's telephone slogan: "The voice with the smile wins." Though both are unusually agreeable men, each has a steel skeleton. It seems entirely natural thus to couple their names and speak of them in the same sentences, for they are more than political friends. Indeed, it is delightful to hear the affectionate terms in which they speak of each other. Two summers ago I had the privilege of meeting and conversing with fourteen Prime Ministers of Europe in their respective capitals, but nowhere did I find such perfect harmony between Cabinet officials as clearly exists between Mr. Theunis and Mr. Jaspar. Both are men of solid build and of short stature, but otherwise they are strikingly dissimilar. Mr. Theunis is rather bald, which is perhaps a good thing, for it displays the unusual development of his head, especially for industry and capacity. Mr. Jaspar's shock of snow white hair and his fresh pink skin would make his fortune as the head of some great curative institution. His sense of humour, too, is a distinct asset for a man shouldering the burdens of international disarray that now confront Belgium, like every other European country. Mr. Jaspar is the brisker and more active of these two men. It needs only

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a glance at his bright eyes to understand the reputation he has enjoyed ever since the Versailles matching of Europe's best minds —a reputation for being a prompt finder of harmonizing expedients in a diplomatic *impasse*.

One of the most interesting and significant episodes of this royal visit was the display in front of the Hôtel de Ville in the Grande Place (that most impressive of all European squares) of the massed banners of all of Belgium's Trade Guilds. Some were ancient, strange and tattered, a few weirdly quaint, many modern and gaudy in their fresh coloring. But what a meaning was woven into those waving banners! What ages of close-knit comradeship between men of the same trade, what struggles for their privileges as workmen, and what patriotic resistance for country against outside oppression! Their assembling in this historic spot meant a greeting to Spain from Belgium's backbone —the framework of the nation, whose prosperity spells the welfare of the whole structure. This fête belonged by rights to them and to the City Fathers, and over them all rightfully presided Burgomeister Max. He is one of Europe's greatest bourgeois, sturdily representative of a class of citizenry that is naturally most offensive to Bolshevists, because the bourgeoisie of every country is its greatest bulwark against the Soviet despotism that is ruining Russia. Of Burgomeister Max's resolute bearing during the German occupation of his city it is not necessary to speak here; every American child knows the story. It certainly was delightful to see how his people respect and admire him, and how naturally he dominated that great assembly of the Belgian Arts and Crafts in their greeting of the Spanish sovereigns. Nor would these sturdy Belgians let slip so apt a moment for glorifying their own beloved Fatherland; the culminating moment of the whole spectacle was reached when, the Guild banners having been massed into two great rectangles, there was marched into the central space the historic national flag of 1830, birthdate of modern Belgium. As the colour guard proudly swung into position facing the four sovereigns up in their box on the Hôtel de Ville façade, trumpets blew, carillons rung out, and the whole Place went mad with patriotic emotion. Up leapt the ancient banners, as shout after shout greeted the playing of the national

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anthem. Even we foreign onlookers were swept off our feet by these waves of popular enthusiasm, and cheered as wildly as our neighbours.

The *dîner de gala* given at the Palace in honour of King Alfonso and Queen Victoria afforded an unintended background for an episode entirely characteristic of King Albert. After graceful toasts had been changed between the two monarchs and the guests had left the brilliant dining room for the long salon that adjoins it, a few of the men guests were honoured in turn by a chat with His Majesty. Much the longest of these conversations was with the Minister of Railways, and as the city buzzed with rumors of an impending railway strike, this was surely a talk of some moment. Besides, the face of the Minister showed it. The King's countenance, however, although expressing serious concern, chiefly spoke the perfect balance of a man thoroughly conversant with the subject under discussion, and inspired by a conscientious wish to take steps fair to all concerned. But there was no worry, as there was on the face of the Minister. And so it is always with this King, known for his industry in preparing himself upon all public questions, and for his painstaking care lest decisions be hasty.

Throughout all the incidents that together make up such a great State function, there was always a frank simplicity in every detail. Dignity was conserved, but friendliness was not banished. For example, before moving out to dinner, the guests, ranged in rank by the Grand Marshal of the Court, passed one after another into the room where stood the four sovereigns, and were each in turn announced as presented. But note this fact: to each guest the sovereigns extended a hand, just as guests are treated at the White House in Washington.

As for the Queen, our own excellent Brand Whitlock, a keen observer, expressed the opinion that she utterly lacked physical fear, and told how more than once she had to be literally forced to retire from a point endangered by enemy fire. Vicomte d'Harcourt of Paris has a pleasant tale of his visit to their majesties in 1917 at La Panne, just across the French frontier in Belgium. They were living in a modest little house, for they refused during the war to be lodged better than the humblest lieutenant of their

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armies. The conversation was interrupted by a burst of machine gun fire. The Queen hastily led the way out of doors to learn the cause of the firing. Flying towards the cottage was a squadron of five German battle-planes, grim death birds, making for Dunkirk, and the Belgian artillerymen had opened fire on them. The King and Queen, instead of taking shelter, remained calmly looking up at them until they had passed overhead and on their way. And this is the same Queen of whom the shopkeepers say in Brussels that when any particularly pretty order of lace is being sent abroad it is customary first to take it to the Palace for her to see. Also, the smart Paris dressmakers insist that of all their clients the Queen of the Belgians is the most dainty in her requirements. Compare these statements with another war tale, from a leading Socialist statesman of Belgium who, by the way, carries on his shoulders a strikingly handsome head. Because of his years, a part of his war work was the charge of a refuge where war orphans were collected. One day when he was temporarily absent the Queen visited the orphanage. Learning upon his return of her visit, he set off in his ramshackle little motor to overtake the royal party and thank Her Majesty for the honour done his refuge. He trundled down the road and presently came in sight of a trim little figure in Red Cross nurse's uniform, swinging along all alone, and to his surprise found it was the Queen hastening back to the hospital where she was serving as a nurse! Socialist though he be, this distinguished statesman has a deep respect for the sort of royalty that flourishes in Belgium.

Madame Herbette, wife of the French Ambassador in Brussels, speaking one day of a small luncheon party at the Palace, said that when the conversation turned upon Egypt, which the Queen had visited, she talked with so much real learning on the subject that one would have thought her a trained Egyptologist. And here is yet another facet of her many-sided character. Her father, a Prince of the royal house of Wittelsbach, was an excellent surgeon, and as she was a favourite daughter, he taught her much of that science. The interest she took in it naturally proved of the utmost value later during her Red Cross work. It seems almost surplusage to add that Her Majesty is also an accomplished musician, playing the violin with great skill.

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One could not help noticing that at all public functions during the Spanish stay in Brussels, always the Queen was to be seen engaged in friendly chat with that great churchman and greater world citizen, Cardinal Mercier. He went through his hour of trial without scar or smudge, and today nothing in the sweetness of his expression shows any trace of the trial. A charming group they made, too, the tall, stooping, kind faced prelate in his gorgeously coloured robe and cap, and the dainty little Queen, earnestly conversing together.

To be privileged to visit Cardinal Mercier in the Archbishop's Palace at Malines is in itself a benediction. He loves to speak of his visit to the United States, and his surprise at the warmth of his reception there is really touching. "But they did not even wait to know me!" he exclaims. Just as if we had not already known him through and through, before ever he came to us! He is reluctant to speak of the trials of the war, but his secretary showed us where a German shell came through the roof of the Palace into a large room full of wounded.

Undoubtedly the most pregnantly significant fact in connection with this picturesque visit of Spanish royalty to Belgium was not the importance given to the Guilds' reception in the Hôtel de Ville and the Grande Place outside, not the simplicity of the elegance characterizing all official entertainments at the Palace. No, but it was the entire absence of any grand review of troops always expected on such state occasions. Not only was there no such militaristic display, but the time which in the old days would naturally have been devoted to it was used by King Albert to show his Spanish guest the great iron works of Charleroi (which have been recreated since the war) and the arrangements for handling shipping in the port of Antwerp. Americans are interested to learn what steps Europe is taking to demilitarize herself, and that fact is an answer from Belgium.

CHARLES H. SHERRILL.

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TEN YEARS' WORK FOR CHILDREN

BY GRACE ABBOTT

Chief of the Children's Bureau, Department of Labor

THE Children's Bureau began work during the summer of 1912, so that a ten year period includes practically its entire history. For six years before the Bureau was created the need for such an organization in the National Government was discussed both in and out of Congress. It was urged by groups of people who were professional workers in the various fields of child care and by other large groups of women and smaller groups of men who were interested in community aspects of child care. The professional workers hoped that the trial and error method in the care of children could be abandoned and that, if a central agency was created which would make the really valuable experience of each available to all and would undertake on a national scale much needed scientific research in the whole field of child care, unnecessary experimenting with children could be avoided.

In order that specialized pieces of work should have their proper setting in the whole programme for children, it was considered important to give to the Bureau consideration of all the problems of childhood. Although certain information was at that time being obtained in a number of departments and bureaus in the Government, it was not known or really available even to professional workers in the field. While it was anticipated that the Bureau would be helpful to these professional agencies much more than that was desired. As one advocate pointed out, its very name should convey to the average man and woman what it was and the service it was prepared to render. The success in their respective fields of the various bureaus in the Department of Agriculture and of the Bureau of Mines in the Department of the Interior was cited as illustrative of what it was hoped could be done by a Government bureau in the field of child welfare.

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After the so-called White House Conference on the Care of Dependent Children, President Roosevelt and his successor, President Taft, both recommended to Congress the establishment of a Children's Bureau which would assemble and publish the facts with reference to the whole field of child welfare. The law creating the Bureau was finally passed in 1912. Under its terms the Bureau is directed to investigate and report upon "all matters pertaining to the welfare of children and child life among all classes of our people"; "infant mortality, the birth rate, orphanage, juvenile courts, desertion, dangerous occupations, accidents and diseases of children, employment, legislation affecting children in the several States and Territories" are especially named.

Miss Julia C. Lathrop, the first Chief of the Bureau, had before her the difficult task of making a beginning in this vast field of social research, which would establish respect for the scientific quality of the work of the Bureau, and at the same time make the conclusions reached available to the individual. Although in the decade that has passed similar bureaus have been created in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Russia, Poland, and Jugoslavia, the United States Children's Bureau was the first public agency directed to consider as a whole the problems of childhood, so that Miss Lathrop was breaking new ground. She had an appropriation of $25,640. On this amount she made a beginning which established at once the scientific character of the Bureau's work and its popular value.

In her first annual report, Miss Lathrop pointed out that it is the "final purpose of the Bureau to serve all children, to try to work out the standards of care and protection which shall give to every child his fair chance in the world". This meant that, in addition to consideration of the problems of the various agencies that specialized in the care of those unfortunate groups of children which are found in every community,—the neglected, dependent, delinquent, and defective,—there must be a working relationship with the child-caring agencies and also with the great groups of people in the country who are concerned with the community problems of child care, and the still larger numbers of individual parents who are asking for help in the problems connected with their own children.

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The subject of infant mortality was selected for the Bureau's initial inquiry, because it was of fundamental social importance and of popular interest, and could be made in small units and the conclusions given to the public as each unit was completed. It was determined that this inquiry should reverse the usual method of studying infant mortality from the death records; that it should begin with birth records and follow each child through the first year of his life, or such part of the first year as he lived. A schedule was prepared for this inquiry which would give a picture of the social, civic, and industrial conditions of the families studied, together with a careful history of the baby's growth with special attention to feeding. As the questions were necessarily intimate and difficult, only women agents were employed in securing the replies. The first study was made in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and subsequently in nine other industrial towns and cities including Baltimore, Maryland, and Gary, Indiana. Studies of the care available to mothers and infants in typical rural communities of twelve States of the South, Middle West, and West were also made.

The coincidence of a high infant mortality rate with low earnings, poor housing, the employment of the mother outside the home, and large families, was indicated in all these studies. They all showed that there is great variation in the infant mortality rates, not only in different parts of the United States, but in different parts of the same State and the same city, town, or rural district. These differences were found to be caused by different population elements, widely varying social and economic conditions, and differences in appreciation of good prenatal and infant care and the facilities available for such care.

Evidence of the methods used in successful efforts to reduce infant mortality was also assembled. The instruction of mothers through infant-welfare centers, public-health nurses, and popular bulletins as to the proper care of children, the value of breast-feeding, the importance of consulting a doctor upon the first evidence of disease, everywhere brought substantial decreases in deaths.

Along with these first studies of infant mortality, popular bulletins on prenatal care, infant care, and child care were pub-

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lished. Popular bulletins on other subjects have also been published from time to time, but these three were not only immediately useful but the demand for them has increased each year. Since July 1, 1922, more than 600,000 of these bulletins were distributed, although many requests cannot be filled.

In the period from 1915 to 1921, there was a substantial reduction in the infant mortality rate in the birth registration area of the United States, but five nations still had lower rates than the American. A study of vital statistics showed that little progress was being made in reducing the deaths in early infancy, including deaths caused by premature birth, congenital debility, and injuries at birth, which have maternal causes. Consideration of infant mortality therefore inevitably led to the question of the care mothers are receiving before, during, and after childbirth. Unfortunately, the maternal death rate in the United States has increased rather than decreased, so that the American rate for 1920 is the highest among all the nations for which recent statistics are available. With an annual loss of approximately 200,000 babies and 20,000 mothers, the need of extending on a national scale the successful local efforts to provide better care for mothers and infants was obviously necessary.

In her annual report for 1917, Miss Lathrop called attention to the method of coöperation between the national and local government adopted by Great Britain in the so-called grants-in-aid for maternity and infant welfare work, and suggested that the United States should use the well-established principle of Federal aid as a basis of national and State coöperation in reducing the unnecessarily high death rate among mothers and babies in the United States. The Sheppard-Towner Act for the promotion of the welfare and hygiene of maternity and infancy, which became a law on November 23, 1921, is in all essentials the same as the plan for the "public protection of maternity and infancy" submitted by Miss Lathrop in 1917. This act authorizes an annual appropriation of $1,240,000 for a five-year period, of which not to exceed $50,000 may be expended by the Children's Bureau for administrative purposes and for the investigation of maternal and infant mortality, the balance to be divided among the States accepting the act as follows: $5,000 unmatched to each State,

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and an additional $5,000 to each State if matched; the balance to be allotted among the several States on the basis of population, and granted if matched.

The act intends that the plan of work shall originate in the State and be carried out by the State. A Federal Board of Maternity and Infant Hygiene, composed of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, the Surgeon-General of the United States Public Health Service, and the United States Commissioner of Education, may approve or disapprove State plans, but the act provides that the plans must be approved by the Federal Board if "reasonably appropriate and adequate to carry out its purposes". Forty States have by legislative action accepted the terms of the act—all except Maine[1], Vermont, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Illinois[2], Kansas[2], and Louisiana.

With this very general approval of the measure, there was also some opposition. Suits were brought by the State of Massachusetts[3], and by a taxpayer[4] to test the constitutionality of the measure. A decision handed down by the United States Supreme Court in June, 1923, to which there was not a dissenting vote, has ended this controversy, so the work can be pushed without danger of its suddenly coming to an end on the ground of its unconstitutionality.

The plans under which the States are operating under this act vary greatly, but everywhere, as a result of the widespread discussion of the whole question of maternity and child care and of the measures initiated in the States, real progress is being made. The national administration of the act is immediately in charge of the Maternity and Infancy Division of the Children's Bureau, of which Dr. Anne E. Rude is Director.

In addition to this Division, the Bureau has a Child Hygiene Division, an Industrial Division, and a Division of Social Service, whose field of research includes the children in need of special care, the dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, a Statistical Division which is in charge of the statistical work of the

[1] Accepted by the Legislature, vetoed by the Governor.
[2] Accepted by the Senate; did not come to a vote in the House.
[3] Mass. *vs.* Mellon *et al.*
[4] Frothingham *vs.* Mellon *et al.*

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Bureau, and also makes investigations which are primarily statistical, an Editorial Division, and the beginnings of a Recreation Division.

It is not possible to enumerate all the work done by these divisions, but some examples will indicate the type of studies that have been made in these four or five categories. In addition to its investigations of infant mortality in selected areas in the United States, the Bureau has investigated the health problems of children of pre-school age, their physical status, mental habits, nutrition, and community methods used for improving the care of these young children. The methods of child care in New Zealand which has the enviable record of the lowest infant mortality rate, have been investigated. The laws relating to child labour, juvenile courts, mothers' pensions, children born out of wedlock, sex offenses against children, have been analyzed and published in tabular form; those on importation and exportation of children and adoption will appear shortly. In the field of child labour, the most important studies include the industrial home work of children, child labour and the work of mothers in oyster and shrimp canning communities on the Gulf Coast, and child labour in an anthracite coal community. A series of studies of rural child labour, particularly with reference to its effect on school attendance, is now being published. In this series, work in the sugar beet field, at cotton picking, in the truck gardens of the East, in the corn and wheat belt, and in hop picking on the Pacific Coast, will be included. A report on vocational guidance and another on children in street trades will shortly be issued.

Studies of juvenile delinquency and juvenile courts, of illegitimacy as a problem in child welfare, of the methods of administering so-called mothers' pensions laws, and of the care of dependent children, have also been published. Most of these are schedule studies of individual children, but some are analyses of methods used in various communities by experts in their respective fields.

The Children's Bureau has had the responsibility for one piece of administrative work in addition to the administration of the Maternity and Infancy Act to which reference has already been

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made. This was the first Federal Child Labor Law, passed in 1916, ten years after it was first introduced in Congress.[1]

The standards established by this act were not as high as those of a few States; they were substantially the same as those in a larger number of States, but were considerably higher than the standards fixed in a third group of States. While this was a new type of Federal legislation, the experience of the Bureau of Chemistry in administering the Pure Food and Drug Act, and a series of studies of the administration of State child labor laws which had been made by the Children's Bureau, furnished helpful analogies based on both national and State experience.

The Bureau laid its plans on the theory that the full value of this national minimum for the protection of children which the act established, would never be realized except through a genuine working relationship between Federal and State officials. The resources of both were inadequate for the task before them. It was, of course, important that needless Federal machinery should be avoided, and that, so far as such machinery was established, it should so function as to strengthen respect for the State as well as the Federal laws.

With this in view, a conference of State officials was called during the summer before the act went into effect, so that the Bureau might have the benefit of the advice of State officials before the rules and regulations as to certificates of age were adopted, and of a detailed discussion of the other common problems of State and Federal officers.

At this conference, the State commissioners and chief factory inspectors voted that they desired to have formal recognition by the Federal Government, and, in accordance with their vote, all State officers charged by statute with the enforcement of a State child labour law, were commissioned to assist in the enforcement of the Federal act. In commissioning them, attention was

[1] This Act prohibited the shipment in interstate or foreign commerce of the products of (1) a mine or quarry in which, within 30 days prior to the removal of said products therefrom, children under 16 years of age had been employed or permitted to work; and (2) of a mill, cannery, factory, workshop, or manufacturing establishment in which, within 30 days prior to the removal of the products therefrom, children under 14 years of age had been employed, or children between 14 and 16 years of age had been employed, or permitted to work more than eight hours a day, or six days a week, or before 6 a. m., or after 7 p. m. It became effective September 1, 1917.

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called to the fact that inspections would be made by the Children's Bureau in any State, either upon its own initiative, upon complaints of violations, or upon the request of State officials.

The help given by the State officials in the enforcement of the Federal act was substantial. It began in some States before the law went into effect, with an educational campaign to acquaint employers and parents with the provisions of the act. In a number of States in which children between 14 and 16 years of age were allowed, under the State law, to work more than eight hours a day, State inspectors checked time records in the course of their regular inspections to see whether the Federal eight-hour standard was being violated, and called the attention of the employers to the fact that their products could not be shipped in interstate or foreign commerce if the Federal eight-hour standard was not observed.

The act itself provided a basis for coöperation between the Federal and State Governments in that it was possible to accept for the purposes of the Federal Act the certificates of age or work permits issued under State authority. State experience had demonstrated that it is possible to enforce a child labour law only if no child is employed without a certificate and if no certificate is issued except on reliable evidence that the child is of the legal working age. The question of what State certificates should be accepted therefore was a very important one in the administration of the act. Having adopted what it regarded as the necessary standards for a good certificate system, the laws and administrative practices of the several States were carefully studied.

It was found possible to accept the State certificates for the purposes of the Federal Act in practically all the industrial States. It was, however, found necessary to issue Federal certificates in North Carolina,[1] South Carolina, Georgia, and Mississippi, and, at the time the act was declared unconstitutional, arrangements were made for issuance in Virginia.[1]

To an inspector of the Children's Bureau was assigned the special duty of coöperating with State officials, and joint inspections with State inspectors were tried in a number of localities.

[1] Laws making possible great improvement in State standards have since been enacted in North Carolina and Virginia.

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These were useful in acquainting Federal and State inspectors with the methods followed by each, and in impressing parents and employers with the fact that Federal and State officials were working together. It was felt, however, that if long continued, joint inspections would be wasteful, as the time of two sets of inspectors was consumed for work which could be done by one. A regular exchange of information was probably what each needed from the other, and with this end in view, arrangements were made by the Children's Bureau to send to the child labour inspection departments of the States a summary of the findings of the Bureau inspectors in their own jurisdiction, as well as all rulings and other information with reference to the act which might be published by the Bureau from time to time.

When the Supreme Court handed down its decision in June, 1918, that the law was unconstitutional, it had been in effect nine months. It is believed, however, that the nine months' experiment demonstrated that the plan adopted, of reënforcing with Federal support, wherever possible, the local administrative machinery while at the same time leaving with the central office final responsibility for the enforcement of the Federal law, was a practical one.

In the course of the inspections and issuance of work permits, much material of general social interest was discovered which demonstrated the vicious circle of child labour, illiteracy, bodily feebleness, and poverty, as almost never before.

Since 1911, following the example of Ohio, one State after another has appointed official child welfare commissions which have usually been charged with the responsibility of codifying existing laws relating to children and of recommending laws and administrative practice which would put the care given the children of the State on a level with that which the children are enjoying in the most favored communities. The Bureau has kept in touch with all these commissions and has assembled much material for their use. Last year, at the request of the North Dakota Children's Code Commission and in coöperation with it, a series of studies were undertaken in that State, which the Commission found useful in preparing its very admirable report to the legislature. Of the twenty-five measures proposed by this com-

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mission, modifying and enlarging the work of North Dakota for its children, twenty were adopted by the Legislature.

From time to time, the Bureau has coöperated in the working out of standards in the various fields of child welfare. In 1919, at the Washington Conference which ended Children's Year, a group of American experts drew up a tentative draft of what were agreed upon as "Minimum Standards of Child Welfare". After this draft had been discussed and modified in a series of regional conferences, it was published by the Bureau and has been useful in giving the public what are generally regarded as reasonably attainable ideals at the present time.

Standards of normal development and physical fitness for working children were worked out by a group of doctors who are specialists in industrial medicine, or in charge of examinations of children applying for work permits, and the Bureau staff.

A committee of juvenile court judges and probation officers, appointed at the request of a conference of juvenile courts called by the National Probation Association and the Children's Bureau, has just completed juvenile court standards.

From the beginning, the Bureau has had the coöperation of the great national women's organizations of the country as well as the professional organizations in the field of child care. Several very important pieces of work have been undertaken either in coöperation with the women or at their request. The first piece of work of this sort was a campaign for birth registration.

The annual reports of the Bureau record the progress of this coöperation. In 1914, fifteen hundred club women in seventeen States were reported to be helping. In the report of 1915, the Chief of the Bureau recorded 222 committees formed in twenty-four States. In 1916, this movement was expanded into National Baby Week campaigns, the plans for which were worked out with the General Federation of Women's Clubs with the idea of making the week a period of education and demonstration which would lead to the initiation of permanent health activities. During the year 1916, two hundred and fifty-seven committees were organized in twenty-four States. In 1916 there were 2,083 Baby Weeks celebrated and every State in the Union took part in the movement.

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In 1917, the clubs had many permanent results to report. The following year, when the United States was faced with the problems which came with the War, and when, through the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defense, State and local committees were being organized throughout the country, the Children's Bureau was asked to coöperate in a child welfare programme. It was decided to call the second year of this country's participation in the War "Children's Year", and to set forth a simple national programme of child welfare. Four items were included in the programme: public protection of maternity and infancy; mothers' care for older children; enforcement of all child labour laws and full schooling for all children of school age; and recreation. In order to make the movement educational and at the same time furnish a basis for a practical follow-up programme in child health, it was decided to conduct a weighing and measuring test for children of pre-school age. It was thought that the undertaking could be considered successful if several hundred thousand children were weighed and measured through the interest aroused by the women's committees. But the first edition of 500,000 record cards had to be increased to six million in three months. All but two States finally participated in the Children's Year Programme in connection with which the Council of National Defense estimated that at least 17,000 committees were formed with a total membership of 11,000,000 women. More than 16,500 cities, towns, villages, and rural communities conducted weighing and measuring tests.

As the Children's Bureau was created because of the interest of professional social workers and women's organizations, so its responsibilities or its opportunities for service have been increased from time to time. The most recent widespread activity of the women's organizations has been in connection with the passage of the Maternity and Infancy Act by Congress, and its acceptance by the various States. While it was before Congress, sixteen national women's organizations urged its adoption; in the States, the State-wide women's organizations were represented at legislative committees and were active in securing favourable action by the State legislatures.

It is difficult to summarize the results of the activities of the

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Children's Bureau. Since creation, it has worked side by side with other agencies, public or private, in the promotion of child welfare, and the advance that made has been the result of many forces. Ten years ago, t birth registration are had not been established by the Divisi of Vital Statistics of the Bureau of the Census, and facts were, consequence, not available as a basis for community action. w the birth registration area includes thirty States and the Dis ict of Columbia—72.2 per cent of the population. The numbe of States which have special bureaus or divisions dealing with hild health has increased from 1 to 46; forty States have availe themselves of the benefits which the Maternity and Infancy t of 1921 offers. More than half the States have created com nissions to make comprehensive inquiries into all aspects of child welfare, with a view to a recodification of existing laws and such improvements in law and administration as are found to be needed to bring the State's care of its children up to standard. In more than half the States, bureaus or divisions dealing especially with dependent, neglected, or delinquent children have been organized either as independent administrative units or in the State departments of public welfare or charities. The number of States which provide, through so-called mothers' pensions, public aid for dependent children in their own homes, has increased from 2 to 42. There has been an increasing appreciation of the importance of scientific research and good administrative technique in the field of child care; of linking up the State with the local administrative machinery and of including in the field of interest all the children in the community. The medical profession is giving more consideration to the social and economic aspects of child health, and the social workers have learned the importance of a physical diagnosis before determining social treatment. The Children's Bureau does not claim credit for these changes. It can, however, be said that its investigations furnished the facts on which action was frequently based, and through the coöperation of experts in child welfare, public and private child-caring agencies, and women's organizations, the Bureau has been able to focus national attention on some of the most important aspects of child care.

GRACE ABBOTT.

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DOUBTS ABOUT HERESY

BY MAX McC[illegible]N

THE grand amusement of drawing rooms in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, if we may trust the evidence of contemporary comedy, was scandal. Recall merely Lady Teazle and Congreve's Millamant. In the twentieth century scandal is rather out of fashion—not so much taboo as passé. It is not only or chiefly that we are more charitable than our ancestors, but that we have discovered a more titillating diversion. The recreation of all really smart drawing rooms today is heresy.

Let me not assume a hypocritical tone of superiority: I too have a weakness for heterodoxy. When after dinner some clever person questions a doctrine, derides a custom, or assails an institution which I have never before heard questioned, derided, assailed, my inclination is to hail his sally with enthusiastic delight. My pleasure is, I suspect, akin to that with which Sir Benjamin Backbite and Lady Sneerwell greeted a quite fresh insinuation against some fair one whose character had thitherto escaped detraction. And as Lady Sneerwell and Sir Benjamin did not greatly care whether their insinuation was truth or calumny, so my friends and I are not concerned to consider too narrowly whether we can really accept and endorse this new morsel of radicalism. We take our heresy, as they took their scandal, for its own sake. And of all this, though I may sometimes be a little ashamed, yet on the whole I am inclined to be proud: I am keeping up with the new generation!

And yet—apparently it is no use. These youngsters who have made their debut in drawing rooms within the last ten years are too much for me. They go a step beyond what I can accept even as wit. For these new lads and lasses are not content to subvert dogmas and institutions. They appear to despise also what seem fundamental human virtues. God, marriage, and property (please note the climactic order) I can give over to them; but

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when they speak with contempt of courage, kindness, and duty, I draw back. Concealing my displeasure and dismay, I make cautious inquiries. I should like to get this new point of view. Perhaps these things, too, are idols to be tumbled down!

But I find the doctrine perplexing. There are evidently distinctions. As for courage, what I may call daring still stands —the courage of adventure, battle, exploit. Youth can never, I suspect, give that up. But what my generation chiefly praised as courage was something more philosophical: fortitude, endurance—yes, if you like, submission. The acceptance of the human lot, including suffering and death, and going through with it, as we used to say, bravely. More specifically, the maintenance of an inward peace and an outward cheer, and meeting our fellow men and doing our work in the spirit of that peace and cheer, in spite of the tragic futility of man's destiny. "My head is bloody but unbowed"—and all that sort of thing.

As nearly as I can make out, this kind of courage is now regarded by the up-to-date as silly—or perhaps obtuse. The boys and girls seem to think that we old fellows never knew unrest or that we never noticed the facts of misery and mortality. They themselves—poor things—are fairly wild with their restlessness, their rebellion against all the circumstances of life. It is continually on their lips, in their novels and free verse, and, more poignantly, in their eyes. It is undoubtedly the incentive of their somewhat riotous pleasuring and their equally riotous utopianism. But if one talks of "acceptance", of "serenity",—a great word that, in our day,—of "finding peace in one's heart", in short, of any brand of stoicism, Christian, Socratic, Aurelian, or merely Horatian, one but stirs the coals to brighter flame. The thing to do, it appears, is just to go on being restless and blank and desperate, to lament and bewail, to rebel in one's heart and then rebel some more.

And kindness! My generation, too, overthrew certain virtues, or ideals which our fathers accounted such. One of them was reverence, which we denominated superstition. Another was one kind of modesty, which we denounced as prudery. And —heaven forgive me!—I still think we were right, though I am not quite so sure as I used to be. But I think none of us ques-

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tioned kindness. To be courteous, considerate, sympathetic, charitable; to spare feelings, to share griefs, to enhearten, and of course, when one could, to relieve suffering—all this we accepted without question as part of our code. Nay, I think that as we turned away—angrily or sadly—from Faith, we were inclined to stress Works if anything more than our elders had done. We were great on practical religion, organized charity, all kinds of amelioration. We even experienced in kindliness a sort of transcendental, cosmic superiority. The heavens were empty, but Man had somehow discovered love and in the practice of it excelled his origin.

Higher than heaven they sit,
Life and her consort Law;
And One whose countenance lit
In mine more perfect awe,
Fain had I deemed their peer,
Beside them throned above:
Ev'n Him who casts out fear,
Unconquerable Love.
Ah, 'twas on earth alone that I His beauty saw.

But now the code of those who think new thoughts and are to do the world's work for the next forty years is not kindness but hardness. Kindness is weak, sentimental—"slave-morality". If you are a superior person, you put it from you. (Not a difficult thing to do, ye superior ones!) You do not trouble to be courteous, to spare sensibilities. You say what you think (or feel), and say it with a tang. As for a word of cheer—down with Pollyanna! And charity and amelioration are no good; they help to maintain the *status quo*, to postpone—what? The millennium, I judge, when apparently kindness will be quite unnecessary.

And, finally, Duty—

Stern Daughter of the voice of God!

That was not written in our generation, and we had some trouble with "God"; we made private footnotes of interpretation. But I think that nearly all of us thrilled to that line and to the whole of the poem that follows. It was—and remains—a little diffi-

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cult to explain what the sanctions and imperatives are for duty or for specific duties. We made much of "enlightened selfishness". But the point is that the word "ought" remained in our vocabularies and we did a good many hard and tedious things because we "ought" to do them. And, looking back, most of us feel that those things were good for us and are glad we did them and hope we may do a few more of the same kind before we pass out.

But nowadays—why should anyone do anything not motivated by pleasure or immediate self-interest? It is difficult to argue with any tough-minded person who gets this idea into his or her head; and I have already confessed that rationalistic sanctions for duty are exceedingly abstract and elusive. Only I cannot for the life of me see how not merely our present civilization (for which I hold no strong brief), but any kind of human life, and least of all any Utopia, can possibly carry on without quite a lot of "ought" in it somewhere.

Well, having set down the new point of view, the new attitude towards life, as well as I can, I stand off and look at it. I am genuinely anxious to see the good in it, the truth of it. It is almost a point of honour with me to do so; for it has been my life-long hobby and private pride to be "open to conviction", to be able to see all points of view. But this is too much for me. I cannot see it—and I cannot even laugh at it. I am concerned, for the sake of the integrity of my own mental and spiritual life, to formulate my objections to it—at least the grounds of that instinctive and almost contemptuous distaste with which I find myself regarding it.

Is this merely the prejudice of middle age—the result of hardening arteries and the herald of approaching mental death? Very likely it is; yet I must speak. For I have found the underlying ground of my dislike for the whole of this new attitude towards life, namely, that it is weak. These young men and women think they are hard. I tell them they are soft.

No doubt they will answer me with scorn. "Your generation," they will point out, "had a pretty easy time of it! You grew up in a period of peace and plenty and superficial altruism. You had nothing to do, when you were our age, but read books and talk about your souls and courage and kindness and duty.

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We came up into the World War. We served in the trenches in France, or at any rate practised stabbing with bayonets in training camps; or we sent our lovers away to do these things, expecting never to see them again. You were safely married, of course, so you stayed at home and tried as civilians to 'hold out'. We make no objection to that. It was up to us to do the fighting, and we did it. Only don't you talk to us about softness!"

Of course I am somewhat abashed. I admit that I and my coevals were most fortunate in our youth, and that you have been more sinned against than sinning. Also that your generation performed most nobly the terrible task that was set it. But this point of injustice as between you and us does not alter present facts. And so I repeat that I find you soft.

It may be, in fact, that this is partly, perhaps wholly, the result of the War. For on no point was General von Bernhardi more grievously in error than in maintaining that war hardens the morale of the men and women who participate in it. The aftermath of all wars teaches just the opposite lesson. To face imminent death is undoubtedly more acutely terrible than to face life; but it does not follow that the effects on the intellectual processes, on the point of view (to say nothing of character), are more beneficial. Is it not obvious that war shatters, loosens, weakens individuals as well as States? If one is expecting to perish within a few days or weeks, it may be thought or felt to matter little how one spends the brief interval. At any rate one does not have to work out a code. The necessary soldier's code is simple and already clearly formulated and quite sufficiently enforced.

You see, my generation, though it did not face death, did have to face life. The only alternatives we saw were suicide (which few philosophers, however disillusioned, seem to consummate) and going through with it, presumably for a period of years which seemed to us then very long. We did have to work out a code, a *modus vivendi* with ourselves and our fellow creatures, and we had to make provision for enforcing that code upon ourselves. And that is how, perhaps, we came to fall back on those old virtues. Courage in the philosophic sense, meaning a sort of blind, willed serenity in the face of a long vista of tasks,

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tediums, and griefs, culminating inevitably in the same supreme catastrophe which you have faced; this the *modus vivendi* with oneself—and the thing which most of all, it seems to me, you lack and need. Kindness, as the most tolerable attitude (tolerable for oneself) towards all those about one, from lovers to enemies. And duty, however justified, or even if without justification, in lieu of the Articles of War, to put oneself self-respectingly through the things one has to do.

And will even you maintain that these old ideals are not solider and harder than the new ones which you seem, by negation at least, to adopt? Serenity than restlessness and bewailing; self-restrained and purposeful kindness than slapping and kicking or passing by; and duty (whatever it may mean) than pleasure and drifting?

No, I cannot believe that these ideals are to pass like the mere dogmas and customs and institutions which I am willing enough to join with you, seriously or sportively, in questioning. Looking back over many ages, one does not find that these have changed. God has been interpreted in countless ways already, and doubtless many more glosses are to follow; the sex relation has taken several different forms in other lands and ages, and marriage as we know it is not so ideal that we need hesitate to consider other possibilities; and private property with the present implications of that phrase is not the only method of economic distribution that men have tried with some success—it may be open to further modifications. But wherever in history thus far we encounter men and women whom we account strong and noble and enlightened and—within human limitations—happy, these ideals that I have named are in evidence and seem, at least, to have been the basis of whatever greatness and felicity we find. I think the best you will be able to do—you young ones—is to rediscover them. If you can give them new names to make them sweeter to your souls, so much the better. But I think the things themselves will have to stand.

MAX MCCONN.

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TORNADOES AND OTHER STORMS

BY BRIGADIER-GENERAL S. E. TILLMAN, U. S. A.

METEOROLOGY in the most general sense includes a study of all the phenomena due to the earth's atmosphere and its constituents. A better conception of the causes and operations of the tornado, as now understood, is facilitated by a general comprehension of terms and of certain atmospheric conditions and motions now fairly well determined; accordingly these will be briefly stated.

The earth's atmosphere extends from the surface to that ill defined region generally designated as interstellar space. It consists in the main of approximately 98 per cent of oxygen and nitrogen, mixed in nearly the proportion of one of oxygen to four of nitrogen: the remaining constituent gases in the order of amounts are, vapor of water, argon, carbon dioxide and minute quantities of ozone and ammonia; there is also very generally in suspension in the air certain non-gaseous matter, microörganisms and dust particles, the last named being always present in the lower air and having an important action in meteorological phenomena, being instrumental in cloud production and very materially affecting the colours of the sky and atmosphere.

All natural motions of the atmosphere are called "winds"; that branch of meteorology dealing with winds is termed aerodynamics, and involves problems of great difficulty and complexity. So many factors are involved in these motions that it has not been possible to account for them by deduction from simple fundamental laws applicable in all cases.

The dynamical action of the air herein especially considered is the tornado; it is of so much more frequent occurrence in the United States that it has frequently been called an American storm, seldom occurring in other countries, the reason for which will subsequently appear.

As we ascend from the earth's surface the air becomes less

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dense, or as usually stated more rare, and all of its components decrease in amount; at thirty miles up there is little or no oxygen and the density of the air at that altitude is about 1/100th that at the sea level; at fifty miles, the nitrogen ceases, and there is practically no water vapor above five miles. Above twenty-five miles the air is too rare to transmit sound and absolute silence there prevails. As the air is very rare at that altitude and as no motes or dust are there, the light waves pass almost unobstructed and there is nearly total darkness and absence of all colour; the temperature too is very low, probably approaching that of outward space; this region is then one of dark, cold silence. The fact, however, that meteors sometimes become luminous at the height of a hundred miles and more, shows that there is an atmosphere of some sort at that height, probably hydrogen, helium or kindred unknown gases.

Although distributed about the earth as above stated, we know from the properties of gases that one-half the atmosphere lies below an altitude of three and a half miles; practically all the water vapor and nearly all the dust motes float below this same level. It may be also said with approximate accuracy that all aerial and terrestrial life is confined to a zone of air three and a half miles deep at the Equator and curving to the ground slightly above the Arctic and Antarctic circles.

Observations in the lower atmosphere have long made known the fact that its temperature decreases about one degree Fahrenheit for every three hundred feet of ascent, and decreasing temperature was thought to continue to great heights, but recently it has been discovered that this decrease continues only to a certain level, after which there exists a thick stratum in which the temperature remains nearly constant with ascent. The lower zone or spherical stratum of changing temperature is called the "troposphere", and the unchanging layer is the "stratosphere"; this unchanging stratum extends upward to at least nineteen miles, the greatest heights at which temperatures have been secured. This great height was reached by "pilot" or "registering balloons", carrying recording instruments but not passengers. The greatest height reached by man is 7.7 miles, attained by Lieut. McCreery in an aeroplane at Dayton, Ohio, in 1921. It is an

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interesting fact that this same altitude within one mile was reached in 1862 by Glashier, an English meteorologist. The dividing surface between the troposphere and the stratosphere at the Equator is about ten miles above the earth's surface, and descends to about seven at the latitude of 43 and to five in the Arctic. A little consideration of the above stated relations leads us to the unanticipated conclusion that at the height of ten miles in the Equatorial region the temperature is considerably lower than at the same height in the Arctic. A probable but not a certain explanation for the existence of the stratosphere has been advanced, but it is too extended for insertion here. The temperature of the stratosphere is about −65° or −70°, Fahr.

None of our storms extend their action above the protospheric zone: in fact, it is thought that the operating mechanism of nearly all our storms have their origin and run their courses in the lower half of the atmosphere, that is below the three and one-half mile level. If the earth's surface were of homogeneous material and without physical irregularity, the problem of the winds, their causes and action would be far simpler than it is. The complexity of the problem is mainly due to the rotation of the earth combined with the distribution of the land and water, their different specific heats, their different radiating and absorbing powers, the different elevations in continental areas, the height, direction and extent of mountain ranges, and the dry and damp atmospheres of different regions due to the foregoing relations.

The earth's gaseous envelope is an exceedingly mobile fluid and whenever the pressure therein is greater at one place than another, a movement of the air, if not prevented, takes place toward the area of low pressure. The primary and main cause of difference of pressures in the atmosphere is difference of temperatures; the differences of temperature are due directly or indirectly to the unequal effects of sun's heat upon the different parts of the earth's surface and the atmosphere above it. What is usually designated as the planetary circulation or the general winds of the earth is due to the permanent difference of average temperature between the Equatorial and Polar regions. The air of the Tropical regions, being warmer than that over the zones to the

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north and south, is expanded, its density decreased, and it is forced upward by the inflow of the denser air from the north and south. This uplifted air of the Equatorial regions, after reaching a certain altitude, outflows to the north and south and descends toward the surface again. There is thus established a perpetual interchange of air between the regions of the earth which receive greater and lesser amounts of the sun's heat.

The interchange of air between the warm and cold regions takes place both through broad zonal sheets, outflowing from high above the Equatorial region at an altitude of five or six miles, and similar sheets inflowing at lower levels toward the Equator, and also by great currents or streams of air flowing toward and from the Equator, constituting counter currents in the two directions, but these counter currents flowing at nearly the same level instead of moving one above the other as do the zonal sheets.

The movement of the air in this general interchange, modified by the earth's rotation, produces the planetary or general winds, trade winds, passage winds, so called, etc., and the general winds modified by the physical features of the earth's surface and the atmospheric conditions resulting therefrom bring about all other winds.

The observations and studies of American meteorologists show that the interchange between the warmer and colder atmospheres over the North American continent is accomplished by the flow of counter currents as above set forth rather than by zonal sheets, these horizontal counter currents in the air, operating below the three and one half mile level, carrying cold air toward and warm from the Equator. For anyone who has observed how universal is the production of eddies, whirls and gyrations of all sorts, both at and below the surface, in all running streams of water, it will be readily conceived that currents of air, which is far more mobile than water, flowing in opposite directions in or near the same level by the interaction along their colliding edges would produce whirls and gyrations; these gyrating masses of air constitute the great storms which sweep across the United States. The gyrations may take place around an area of either high or low pressure; in the first case we have an anti-cyclonic storm, in the latter the cyclonic storm; in the

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former, the direction of motion of the winds around the center is clock-wise, the same as the motion of the hands of a watch with the face up; in the cyclone, the motion is always counter clock-wise in the northern hemisphere, that is opposite the motion of the watch hands, face up. The constant gyratory direction of the winds in these storms is due to the rotation of the earth, which, facing in direction of motion, deflects all moving bodies in the northern hemisphere to the *right*. In the anti-cyclone the *vertical* motion of the air in the storm is *downward* and away from the center, while in the cyclone the circulating air *ascends* at the same time that it swerves toward the center of the storm.

For present purposes it is only necessary to consider the cyclonic storm, which is frequently in the public press designated a "low" or "low area" storm. This may, with fair accuracy, be described as a great whirlwind flowing around and in toward an area of low pressure. The volume of air involved in this whirl is in shape an elliptical lens, being often 1500 or 2000 miles in greatest axial diameter and from one and one-half to three and one-half miles in greatest depth. It is the cooling of the ascending air in the cyclone due to expansion and increase of altitude which produces the rain or snow frequently accompanying the storm.

It has long been a difficult problem for meteorologists to account for the energy involved in the rapid rotation of the enormous masses of air which move in the cyclone. In the above view the propelling power is due to pressure gradients in the atmosphere often extending long distances to the north and south from the center of the storm, these gradients resulting from the conditions brought about by the general or planetary circulation. Pressure gradients are both the cause and result of atmospheric motions. In addition to the gradients of pressure it is very probable that the cyclonic action in certain cases is greatly facilitated by the heat energy liberated by the condensation of moisture in the ascending winds of the storm, producing rain or snow. Indeed the "condensation theory" of the cyclone assigned this as the main source of energy, but since many cyclones, and anti-cyclones generally, operate without rain or snow, condensation is evidently not the principal driving force.

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Besides the circulating motion of the winds in the cyclone, the cyclone itself moves from one region to another; this progressive motion in this country is generally a little north of east and is due to several causes, but mainly it is thought to the eastward motion of the higher atmosphere with which the gyrating mass has connection. The winds of the cyclone increase in velocity as they are drawn nearer to the center of the storm, and under certain conditions they reach great violence and the cyclone is then often termed a "hurricane". The above described storms passing over the United States or along its eastern coast determine the general weather conditions of the country and to them is essentially due our winter rain and snowfall east of the great plains. When these general factors of weather production are recognized it is easy to comprehend why meteorologists deem it unnecessary to discuss the pretensions of the rain doctor with his small tank of chemicals or a few pounds of explosives. It is a remarkable fact, however, that the Congress of the United States within the last forty years appropriated a considerable sum of money for the artificial production of rain. The latest discovery for dispelling fogs and clouds by spraying with electrified sand is based upon scientific principles, but as to even remotely approaching the operations of nature in supplying the country with the necessary rainfall, it may be dismissed from consideration.

With this brief and general description of our most important weather producing storms, the causes and actions of the tornado are more readily explained and understood. The tornado is the briefest, most violent and destructive of all storms, and we have annually too frequent illustration of its terribly destructive effects, both on life and property. As the population increases and the unoccupied areas grow smaller, the havoc produced by these storms will increase and there is no prospect whatever of preventing them or moderating their effects: the most that can be hoped for is the earlier anticipation of the storm and then to make avail of the best means to save life.

In popular expression there is no universal distinction between tornadoes and cyclones; in meteorology the distinction is very definite. As already stated the cyclone may be compared to a

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large, thin, rotating disc, while the tornado in contrast is a tall, slender column or tube with far more rapid rotation, its height being many times its width. The base of the cyclone in contact with the earth is almost infinitely great as compared to that of the tornado, and therefore friction against the surface exerts a far greater retarding effect in the former than in the latter; in the tornado the gyrating velocity of the winds becomes very great except near the ground.

Tornadoes occur most frequently in the warm months; but sometimes during warm spells of cold months; they are most numerous in June, being most frequent between March 15 and June 15. They have occurred in every State east of the Great Plains, but are far more frequent in the States which border on the Mississippi, south of St. Paul, including Kansas; they are most frequent in the States of Missouri, Kansas, Illinois and Iowa. The gyrating winds in the tornado, as in the cyclone, are always counter-clock-wise, but this constant direction cannot be attributed to the rotation of the earth as it is in the cyclone, for the width of the tornado is too small for this action to produce the effect. This constant direction in the tornadoes is due to the fact that they occur in regions of cyclonic action and derive their primary whirl from the motion of the air in which they originate. With almost equal uniformity they occur within certain limits with reference to the center of cyclonic motion, which is found to be the southeast quadrant of the cyclone area.

It is usually stated that no tornadoes occur in the Rocky Mountain region, but the rainstorms which occur there, known as "cloud bursts", have several features of the tornado, and are really tornadoes operating under very restricted conditions. The width of the tornado path varies from a few feet to fifteen or eighteen hundred, but usually less than one thousand feet. The length of the path, or the distance traveled, seldom exceeds thirty or forty miles, though they occasionally run much greater distances. The terrific energy of the tornado is its most dreaded effect; to account for this as well as for the times and places of most frequent occurrence there are known several contributing causes. One important factor of tornado action generally, if not always, present is an unstable atmosphere; the cause of which

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condition is readily understood from the following considerations.

Normally, we may consider the air as arranged in concentric layers around the earth, the denser and warmer layers below, and under such conditions the decrease of temperature upward, as already stated, is about one degree, Fahrenheit, for every three hundred feet of elevation. If the lower unconfined air is by any means moved upward, the pressure on it becomes less and it will expand. This expansion cools the air about one degree for 186 feet of ascent and any body of ascending air therefore would be cooler and consequently more dense than the undisturbed air at the same level, and would tend to descend and return to its original level: under such relations the air is in a "stable" condition; in other words, "stability" exists when the rate of cooling caused by expansion, due to diminished pressure with altitude, is greater than the rate due to mere difference of level. Sometimes on still, hot days in warm regions the lower atmosphere becomes very much warmer than that above, so that the decrease of temperature with elevation is much greater than one degree for every 300 feet: whenever this decrease, due to difference of level alone, is greater than that due to the expansion of the air in passing through the same difference of level, the condition of "instability" is brought about. In this case a volume of unconfined air moving upward would be warmer than the undisturbed air at the same level, and its tendency to rise would continue until its temperature was reduced to that of the surrounding atmosphere. In an unstable atmosphere, then, if through any means an upward draft be started, an interchange between upper and lower strata will take place owing to the tendency to reach a stable condition. The violence of any such upward draft will increase with the degree of instability and also with the amount of moisture present in the lower heated strata. The liberated heat from the condensed moisture as the air ascends would greatly increase the draft.

The topographical features of the North American continent exercise great influence in the generation and movement of both cyclones and tornadoes. The great mountain systems of this continent have a general north and south trend, which permits

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and facilitates the flow of interchanging counter currents between the warmer and colder regions, these currents, as already stated, flowing below the three and one-half mile level and being mainly instrumental in bringing about our cyclones. The physical features of our country are also seen to be very favourable to the production of tornado conditions. The general trend of our Atlantic Coast and of the broad valley between the Alleghanies and Rocky Mountains readily permit the flow and spread of moist winds from the Gulf and the Atlantic over the land. There is also a gradual rise of the land from the Gulf of Mexico to the northern lakes and from the Mississippi Valley to the base of the Rocky Mountains. From these regions of higher latitude and altitude the cooler winds descend to warmer areas. The natural conditions are thus seen to be very favourable for the colder air to overrun the warm moist air advancing from the lower levels of the Gulf and sea and thus to bring about that unstable condition of the atmosphere which is so favourable to tornado action. The tornado region above specified is well located and the tornado season, March to June, is most favourable for the production of this condition.

The total energy involved in the rotation of a great cyclone is far greater than that in a tornado, but in the latter the operating forces are concentrated in whirling a very much smaller mass of air. The phenomenon of a tornado is believed to be brought about by horizontal counter currents, more local but analogous to those which produce a cyclone, the tornado currents also sweeping above and across an unstable atmosphere. When the extreme mobility of the air is considered, it is readily conceivable that such counter currents flowing at nearly the same level, by the interaction along their contiguous edges, would run into rapid gyrations which would be greatly increased by the ascent of the highly heated lower air and the liberated heat of the condensed moisture due to this ascent, for heavy rainfall usually accompanies the tornado; the combined action developing a vortex ærial tube of great rotational velocity.

The centrifugal force of the gyrating air in the tornado, except near the ground, is very great, partly preventing the surrounding air from flowing inward and thereby forming a partially vacuous

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column with greatly diminished pressure within and especially at and near the center. The rotary motion of the lower air of the column is, however, slowed up by friction against the earth, its centrifugal force diminished so that it swerves with great velocity toward the center of low pressure and then participates in and increases the violent updraft. These indrawn currents are the most destructive ones and develop almost incredible violence: large trees are twisted into two, heavy iron chains lifted and carried aloft; in one instance a pine tree sixteen inches in diameter and sixty feet long was carried inward and aloft in the ascending column: a wooden scantling two by four inches was driven through an iron sheathing five-eighths of an inch thick. A tornado in Tennessee which struck the house and stables of the writer's brother, unroofed the stables, lifted a horse from his stall and deposited him on the other side of a lane forty feet wide without materially injuring him. The passing tornado has been known to cause all four walls of a house to fall outward, mantels to jump from the walls to which they were attached, and cellar doors to burst outward; such action is of course due to a sudden and near greatly diminished air pressure which causes the air in the buildings to expand with explosive force.

Black clouds, often shaped like a narrow necked funnel, always accompany violent tornadoes, and are due to the condensation of the moisture of the ascending air. The pressure of the air at and near the center of a violent tornado is so low that the condensation and cloud formation are brought down, or nearly so, to the earth's surface. The thunder and lightning are accompaniments but not agents of the tornado. The spraying of the rain drops by the violent currents of air is the cause of the abundant electricity in the storm, such action being now a well recognized source of electricity.

Beside the remarkable display of violent action by the tornado, it is frequently known to leave entirely undisturbed certain objects situated along its destructive line of travel, seemingly leaping over them. This result is brought about when the lower part of the gyrating column is so retarded by friction that it is left behind while the upper part of the column freely swoops forward and again carries the destroying whirls to the ground. This

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"jumping" action is more common when the storm travels transversely across elevations and depressions: it is often repeated several times along its travel line. In referring to the travel or motion of translation, of both the cyclone and tornado, it should be understood that it is not the same revolving mass of air continually moving forward, but new masses along the path are successively involved in the gyrations and the storm thus continued.

Owing to their intensely destructive power, it has not been possible to guard whole communities against tornado action, either of life or property, but individual safety can be largely procured by proper and timely provision. The most effective protection is through tornado caves or cellars, especially dug, to which residents may retire upon the approach of the storm. The cellars of dwellings are the safest places to which to resort in homes; in wooden houses the cellar will nearly always afford a safe retreat. When the approach of a tornado is observed while still some distance away and its direction of travel carefully noted by any one caught in the open, safety may generally be secured by fleeing in the proper direction; one should never run parallel to nor try to cross the path of the storm: the direction of flight should be away from the direction of the storm path and making the largest possible angle with it. If too bewildered or too late to attempt flight, lie flat on the ground; all danger is generally passed in less than a minute.

S. E. TILLMAN.

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THE ANSWER

BY ANNE GOODWIN WINSLOW

Remember you? . . . There are so many ways
Of memory;—
Sometimes she comes with pictures; then the blaze
Of noon on the hot street
Grows dim, and suddenly
There is the marble coolness and the shade
Of a long colonnade,
And once again our feet
Go down her gracious gallery,—
Past the pure profiles of seraphic days
On gold inlaid,
Past blue madonnas in trim gardens made
So still with little cypress trees,
And little children round their knees,
All blondness, peace and praise,—
Past aureoled innocence and angel's wing,
To stand at last and gaze
Upon the canvas blossoming
With the bright lady who was all our Spring.

Sometimes she comes with lightning and a sword,
Sent from the Lord
To snatch us backward by the hair;
Then from the councils of the heart
The kings depart
And the old ruin is there;
Again the watchman quits the walls,
The chariot wheels jar on the broken gate,
The trembling air
Is darkened, and the altar falls.
Where the white image stood inviolate
And every breath was prayer.

Sometimes. . . . But is this memory,—
The whispering tide
That steals through every vein,

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As through the trees the summer's alchemy
And through the earth the rain,—
Bringing with hidden touch and still
Its perfect will
To flower again?
Ah wide, more wide
Than any boundaries of sense
Lives on that boundless influence,
Whose terms are infinite, whose sign is set
Where men no more remember or forget. . . .

So when you say "Remember me"—
Think well what that may be!

KEYS OF THE CITY

BY VIRGINIA WATSON

Not my deserts, but the great love I bear
With freedom of the city she rewards,
The keys of her Aladdin wealth accords,
And to her special treasures makes me heir.
Yet seek I not these riches where repair
The merchants and the Midas-fingered lords,
Nor where her palaces, like lifted swords,
Flourish their bravery in the silvern air.

But mine I claim her golden rivers' flow,
Her crystal bowl of winey atmosphere,
Her water-gates wherein the four winds blow
The fragrant argosies from all the world,
The little sparkling gems of hope and tear
With which her glorious garments are empearled.

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INDIAN LOVE SONG

BY LEW SARETT

Cold sky and frozen star
That look upon me from afar
  Know my bitter grief.

Hollow night and black butte
Hear my melancholy flute—
  Oh, sound of falling leaf!

Homeless wind and waterfall
Hold a sadness in their call,
  A sorrow I have known.

Shivering wolf and lonely loon
Cry my sorrow to the moon—
  O gone heart, O stone!

WET SILVER

BY JOSEPH AUSLANDER

The Gothic girders of Spider Castle
Are fretted with pulver of rain, harassed with rain-dust glitter;
The Gothic girders of Spider Castle
Sag silver; the fog drips beauty into the sparrow's twitter;
Lustrously dank is the snail's horn, his armour glistens;
Now the hush, soaked silver: and still my heart listens and listens.

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COVENTRY PATMORE

BY JOHN FREEMAN

COVENTRY KERSEY DIGHTON PATMORE was born at Woodford, Essex (now a mere suburb of London), on July 23, 1823. The calendar alone is faithful in its mute reminder that a hundred years have passed, for men's affections are not occupied with Patmore's work and it would be foolish to speak of his name in connection with a centenary "celebration". He is celebrated but as a lonely hill in a quiet land, shown on the map but visited only by those to whom the hill air, and its solitude, are a stimulation and a delight. The greatness that his admirers have never ceased to claim for him may have been silently acknowledged, but has never been widely felt; and for most readers he remains a name in a catalogue, an illustration, a cipher, a shade.

Great poets are creatures of their age, even if they show greatness equally in expressing and transcending it. Patmore and Tennyson were both Victorian poets and in the truest sense the voices of their time; and they each, but in different degree, transcended their time. Tennyson was a dominating figure, standing firm amid his generation and only distinguished by his loftiness of thought and grave attitude of a spiritual legislator; but Patmore was isolated alike by his genius and the intense arrogance of his regard of a world surging turbulently beneath him. He expressed his time in *The Angel in the House*, he transcended it in *The Unknown Eros*, standing scornfully or sorrowfully remote in many odes in the latter, consciously and even proudly alien in certain prose essays. Exceptions to these general statements may be noted, but the statements represent the broad facts.

It is not altogether fanciful to read his character in his face. The portraits, especially that by Mr. Sargent by which he is best known, show a mind alert, bold and perverse, a spirit impetuous and unconciliating. The eyes are gemlike but the light in them

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is not cold, and it is that quick light that redeems the countenance from hardness. Nor is it fanciful, perhaps, to read his history into his face. The son of Peter G. Patmore who was concerned as second in John Scott's duel with Lockhart's friend, Christie; educated at home and in Paris and thus escaping, I cannot say whether unfortunately, the influence of Oxford and Cambridge in the 'forties; entering the Civil Service (through the British Museum), that great nursery of men of letters; marrying once, twice, thrice, and each time gaining in temporalities and inward happiness; joining the Roman Catholic church at the point of his second marriage; publishing the first part of *The Angel in the House* when he was but thirty-one and tasting briefly the sweets of popularity; staying silent from 1863 to 1877 and finding then scarce any audience; reconciling himself to obscurity, yet a little disdainful of what was denied him; saddening as he looked out upon his time but serene in obedience to silent admonitions; contented meanwhile to publish his wilful, epigrammatic essays of a beautiful prose texture, and at length slipping almost unperceived and almost unhonoured out of life at the age of seventy-three—that all this should be traceable in the portraits is impossible, but there is still a strong harmony of the painter's counterfeit and the image called up by the reader's inward eye. Patmore was the least impersonal of writers, and so his work somewhat easily yields us an image of deep shadows and high lights, to set beside the likeness made in the most personal of mediums —the painter's.

As I have said, he was a very young man when he published *The Angel in the House*, and added his still, domestic voice to the larger utterance of other singers. Tennyson, the Brownings and Arnold were already famous, the eloquence of Ruskin and Carlyle was already familiar, philosophy already knew Mill, and science was shortly to give birth to *The Origin of Species*. Patmore, in fact, rose amid the rich chaos of Victorian literature at its central point. The angel of his title has been commonly held to refer to the lady of the poem, but more reasonably to the remoter Amor of the odes. The poem still provokes the amusement of those who indolently fail to relate it to the rest of Patmore's work and, because it seems so easy to understand, do not think it worth

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understanding. The same hasty indolence prevents their reading the later odes, which are not at all easy to understand; and hence the author has been dismissed, even by intelligent people, as too simple altogether, and by others as too obscure altogether. Certain professors of literature, including Mr. Saintsbury himself, have treated him as a minor-minor poet, a chicken clucking between Tennyson's feet, a mote dancing in Ruskin's ray. The courtship of a dean's daughter, the marriage, the honeymoon journey, the unadventurous adventure of merely faithful wedlock—who will not smile at the tameness of a domestic epic? Habitual readers of verse are fondest of lyrical and dramatic poetry; the social recitals of Cowper and Crabbe no longer delight and are the mild pleasure of lax moods only. And again, the common attitude to marriage being no longer quite inflexible, the Oriental view of woman being equally immoral and outworn, it is no wonder if the central idea of the narrative is itself a count against this poem. Patmore wrote it while he was still a Protestant, but the inward rigidity which it discloses, and which I cannot deny nor diminish, suggests that he was already prepared for the conversion that followed it.

It is by a miracle, then, that the poem remains not only readable but even delightful, tinctured but faintly with dogma but quite blessedly with humour. It sailed, somewhat slowly, into popular favour, but with the rise of Swinburne and the passionate lyricism of *Poems and Ballads* Patmore's note was contemned or merely unheard. His song was like a robin or, in his own phrase, a heavenly-minded thrush; and the exuberant clamour of a new and earthly music, the audacity of that heady, intemperate beauty, drew away the attention of critical readers until, at length, popularity too waned and neglect followed. Forty years ago his very name, says Mr. Gosse, was ridiculed; the wonderful odes had been published only a few years before, but they shared in the neglect or the contumely cast upon the earlier poems.

The Angel in the House is the simplest of things, and its depths are as lucid as the mental atmosphere in which it was conceived. Patmore's temper was vehement, his temper so strongly marked and, in later years, so independent of opinion that it seems hardly

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possible that his early work should have been so smoothly acceptable as it proved. He was made up of contradictions. He could not easily bear restraint, yet invoked it in his essays; he was proud, but exalted humility; his mind was critical but capricious; he had a great deal of ability in the practical affairs of life yet despised science; he was faithful in his affections and steady in his persuasions, yet forsook his native creed when he had reached mature years, without avowing an adequate reason; and after that change, though still inwardly defiant, he was so subdued to authority that he burnt some hundreds of copies of *The Angel in the House* lest they should offend—singular misgiving! Long after, as we shall note, he destroyed for a similar reason the manuscript of an unpublished essay. His intellectual apprehensions were swift, but his passions were gusty, and he was at the mercy of both. There was a war in his members.

His early poem, however, does not reflect this war but rather a glittering peace. It is the expression of a mind at home in a world of its own, not wholly our common world and not wholly an alien world, but his own intersecting our common world. He takes the best of both worlds for the characters of his poem. The privileges of cultivated life, the ardours of virgin love, the sunny obscurities of poetic vision and mystic religion—these compose the twin-featured subject of his muse. In form, the verse deludes with its ease, an ease that never degenerates into carelessness or slides into vacancy; there is, on the contrary, a token of patience in the neat development of the story, with cantos and prologues, preludes, epigrams; narrative and comment advancing cunningly together. Perfect quatrains fall as thick as apples in autumn:

> One of those lovely things she was
> In whose least action there can be
> Nothing so transient but it has
> An air of immortality.

It is characteristic of Patmore that in his idealization of love he yet speaks of sleeping "undisturbed" by love, and there is a touch of wisdom in his lines:

> Love wakes men, once a lifetime each;
> They lift their heavy lids, and look;

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And, lo, what one sweet page can teach,
They read with joy, then shut the book.
And some give thanks, and some blaspheme,
And most forget; but, either way,
That and the Child's unheeded dream
Is all the light of all their day.

There is, again, an aspect with which this idealization seems not to be quite incongruous, the innocence with which eight lines are used to tell the "first expense for this sweet Stranger, now my three days' wife"—the purchase of sand shoes. "I'm ready, Felix, will you pay?" It was such a passage as this, and such an impression as several parts of the poem convey, that urged Swinburne to his parody, *The Person of the House*, one of the happiest inventions of the *Heptalogia:*

The sickly airs had died of damp;
Through huddling leaves the holy chime
Flagged; I, expecting Mrs. Gamp,
Thought—"Will the woman come in time?"

And Dr. Garnett, too, must have been smiling over such phrases, when he said that Patmore had no perception of the sublime in other men's writings (a hard piece of justice, perhaps) or of the ridiculous in his own.

The Angel in the House revealed Patmore's vision of life in its most blessedly human relation. The later odes, and much of his prose work, were meant to express his vision of life in its rarer relation to the divine, but before approaching these there is *The Victories of Love* to note; firstly to say that the metrical form is slightly different and shows a maturer ease, and secondly that there is heard a new note, now recognized as most purely Patmorean, the note of poignance, sounded more sharply in the odes, but already clear enough. *The Angel in the House* told joyously of a union of happiness; its successor, of a union in which "less than highest is good and may be high". Love's not time's fool, says Shakespeare, and Patmore here bends all his serious sweetness upon the singing of love as the stealthy sly master of time and fate. There is so much simple beauty and sincerity in the poem that it is not hard to endure the singular essence of Victorian convention which, other-

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wise, might bring opprobrium upon it in 1923, when other manners disguise conventions a little more pliable. But Patmore cared nothing for convention as convention; he did not esteem marriage as a remedy against sin but as a sacrament, and all the vivid arts of his verse were subordinated to that passionate idea. He was as deeply concerned with questions of sex as any modern novelist, and he brought to them a keen, cold and radiant psychology. Indeed, in all his earlier work there is, besides the fluent narrative interest, this far profounder interest of a psychology beyond the touch of any older poet of his time, and which only Meredith, of his immediate successors, was able to approach; while the continuous narrative itself formed a constant, firm background for psychological development, which was inevitably wanting in the discontinuous form of the odes.

The odes contained in *The Unknown Eros* of 1877 form a body of metaphysical poetry which, although sufficiently distinct from the earlier verse, is yet plainly nursed by the mind that produced *The Victories of Love*. The human foreshadowing the divine, the divine completing itself in the human—this is not an innovation of the odes but a full flowering of what was already budding in the narratives. Loosely it might be said that in his two chief books Patmore did not write two poems but one poem; more precisely, the sexual idea, and the distinction of masculine and feminine, pervades all he writes, whether creative or critical, verse or prose, and whether his immediate subject is the character of Keats or the contemplation of God. He was born to mysticism, and it was probably with a secret satisfaction, foreseen when his first wife said, "When I am gone *they* will get you," that his thoughts turned towards the church of the spiritual Doctors he loved. Those mystical writers had for him the authority of the great poets, and the great poets themselves he held in no higher honour than the mystics.

His second marriage redeemed his widowed years from a loneliness that might have proved tragic, and his conversion at the same time coincides also, as Mr. Gosse points out, with the appearance of an unmistakable gesture—that of a man who, having tasted popularity, contemns it; having been recognized by his peers, disdains them; and having come in contact with those

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who alone possessed the "distinction" he prized, slowly disengages himself from them and grosser contacts alike. His native aristocracy of mind was sharpened by a derogation of the great coarse world, which he came at length to descry as swimming remotely in its own fog. Dyspathetic is the one word which describes Patmore's attitude to his country and his time. Yet by the side of this stiff and confident disparagement a candid humility was preserved; his intense personality was sunken in an "heroic good"; life became pure spirit, materiality thinned and faded, and the relations of men and women were etherealized into an ever bolder prefiguration of a divine order. Perhaps there is something odd, at first sight, in a mystic who accepts as easily as Patmore did the amenities of the external world; for while we allow that a beggar may be indifferent to things beyond his reach, we fail, rather illogically, to recognize the same indifference in a man who possesses what most covet. Yet the sincerity of Patmore's vision may not be doubted; like all originals he became more and more surely that which he essentially was.

Yet unlike many of those who use symbols, he did not despise his symbols; the body that figured his parable was nobly honoured as—

> Creation's and Creator's crowning good.

Never was there a saner and healthier mind than Patmore's, and he used the most daring images without the least hint of self-consciousness or morbid inhibition. Something of Donne had always lurked in his temperament, and now something of Donne was expressed in his imaginations; and happily for those that read him for his poetry alone and not for his idea, this something includes the intensity which leaves Donne and Patmore almost isolated among the English poets.

The odes, then, make a double appeal, although it is wrong to attempt to distinguish the parts. They appeal to the spiritual core of every uncorrupted heart, and also to the æsthetic mind that lives by the apprehension of beauty. Patmore himself would not welcome even the convenience of such a distinction, but it is inevitable. Many of the odes are political, the first of them provoking new laments that so fine a poet should write so ill of his country; yet even here he ends with a frankly smiling phrase:

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Grant that I remain
Content to ask unlikely gifts in vain.

Almost every one is a metaphysical ode, and a particular idea is repeated time after time, as if to show how naturally the poet plunged into contemplation of the little that exceeds the great:

'Tis but in such captivity
The unbounded Heavens know what they be!

Who can express, he asks elsewhere—

How full of bonds and simpleness
Is God,
How narrow is He?

To see things thus subtly is to see them simply, for a true metaphysical view does not complicate but shapes and orders the disarray of thought, as a magnet orders the confusion of metal fragments. Patmore relates the seen to the unseen, the shadow to the substance, and beholds all in the radiance of a sudden extraordinary light.

Although the subtilizing of sex is a chief purpose of his writing, it is not the only gift in his giving; more easily received, more conspicuously precious, is the tenderness, the poignance already noted in *The Victories of Love*, which makes *The Azalea*, *Tristitia*, *Departure* and some others almost unbearable in their fingering of the sensitive mind. "It is not true that love will do no wrong," and "Tears of recognition never dry", are lines better known in this way than any others of Patmore's; and I will not add to them here. But it would be wrong to say nothing at this point on the supreme merit of these odes, the merit of style. Consider it in the notation of natural phenomena:

In nook of pale or crevice of crude bark,
Thou canst not miss,
If close thou spy, to mark
The ghostly chrysalis,
That, if thou touch it, stirs in its dream dark.

Patmore objected to a preoccupation with small detail and thought that a poet should refrain from microscopic art; and so it is right that against this faithful minuteness should be set *Wind and Wave*, with its hint of the unfathomable and im-

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mense, or even better the opening of the ode, *To the Unknown Eros:*

> What rumour'd heavens are these
> Which not a poet sings,
> O, Unknown Eros? What this breeze
> Of sudden wings
> Speeding at far returns of time from interstellar space
> To fan my very face,
> And gone as fleet,
> Through delicatest ether feathering soft their solitary beat?

The irregular ode is a perfect medium for Patmore's oracular mood. It was not his invention but he used it uniquely and it is the best example of his theory of verse as a sequence of inflections of the normal. As a recent critic suggests, it represents the liberation of the strict form of the narratives, and achieves perfect beauty in its equal reliance upon law and liberty. It is the most delicately rhythmic of all verse forms, the resilience of the line being subtly increased by alliteration, commonly subdued though essential, and yet scarcely losing its power when confessed:

> And minatory murmurs, answering, mar
> The Night, both near and far.

All his technical excellence, and larger excellences as well, will be found in *Amelia*, one of the longest and tenderest of the odes. It is only a little less homely than *The Angel in the House*, starting with the soberest of phrases, "Whene'er mine eyes do my Amelia greet," and yet it is one of the noblest of love poems since Spenser's. Style makes it great, though I hasten to add that it was conceived in a great mood and could not have been conceived greatly at all in another mood; and it is, ultimately, style, expressed in the complete harmony of the rational with the intuitive faculty, that makes Patmore a great English poet.

"I think the odes," said one of his children, "are very like Holy Scripture in being so simple that anyone might imagine they understood all there is, and so profound that few will really do so. They are also like Scripture in the way Shakespeare is, viz., in being intensely human, and in not saying the words allowed to express the thing, but the *thing* itself."

The author himself in a moment of unusual exhilaration cried,

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"I have hit upon *the* finest metre that ever was inv[illegible]d on *the* finest mine of wholly unworked material that [illegible]o the lot of an English poet!"

Yet he knew himself unregarded, and was pro[illegible] content. "No plaint be mine of listeners none!" he muses, an[illegible]t another time answers a reproach that he does unwisely in speaking plain truths, which should be cloaked in a dead language, ' Alas, and is not mine a language dead?" It is the line with which *The Unknown Eros* concludes. He lived nearly twenty years after publishing the odes, but wrote no more verse; and if before his mortal voice was stilled he reflected again upon his dead language of verse, he may have smiled to remember that the dead languages have never died.

He forsook verse but remained a poet in his prose. In one lost essay, the fruit of ten years' meditation, he pursued the familiar sex symbol, and Mr. Gosse has told of the lamentable destruction of *Sponsa Dei*, the entire manuscript being burned as the result of the author's conversation with Father Gerard Hopkins; for Hopkins, himself a poet of incalculable because unintelligible genius, had said "That's telling secrets" when he read the essay and saw how it developed Patmore's central theme. Ready as the author was to fulfil the highest office of a poet by telling secrets that were lawful, the peril of telling secrets that his church might think it unlawful to tell was too great; and thus the most uncontrollable of men sacrificed at a word what might have been, for all we know now, a work as original in thought as, Mr. Gosse assures us, it was rare in style.

Of Patmore's prose there are, however, abundant specimens available. The volumes of essays and sentences on literary and other matters are witnesses to his remarkable expressiveness, for the whole man, save that rarest part which verse alone could reveal, is here frankly discovered: wise and tender, proud and petulant, hard to please and lavishing praise; readier to repulse than to welcome, to offend than to satisfy; narrow and aspiring, a man of extremes. I cannot pretend that his character seems wholly amiable in its attraction, for his independence was shown in asperity, and his sense of right and wrong, both in spiritual and æsthetic matters, perceived no ambiguities. Cold yet

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flan[illegible]d suggesting to Mr. Sargent a drawing of his head as E[illegible] odd tribute, perhaps), he reflects a white intense light fr[illegible] own personality upon many of his subjects, while upon ot[illegible]he is merely freakish and perverse. Blake, in his view, driv[illegible]d, Herrick was a gilded insect, Emerson apparently a millwheel clacking in vacancy, Shelley a beautiful, effeminate, feebleminded boy; the subordination of women to men was a privilege, for woman is the last and lowest of all spiritual creatures; and perhaps the only real use of natural science was to supply similes for poets. So might we pick out with indulgence or amusement the things we would not care to say even to ourselves. But the essays nevertheless gleam with wisdom, with those starry refractions which excite as well as bewilder us, and which it is hard to refrain from quoting here.

Yet a doubt emerges after reading many of them, I mean in particular the essays dealing with other than literary matters. These strictly irrational utterances and remote speculations, the prompting, indeed, of aery monitors, are more proper for verse than prose, and in fact are already contained, explicit or implicit, in the odes. It is easy to accept the incomprehensible when the noblest rhythm of verse awakens and sustains the attention and gives thought the speed of wings; but the idea expressed as a sudden revelation in an ode may seem a mere paradox in the curt prose of *Religio Poetæ*. True the prose is brilliant and hard as a jewel, but it provokes dissent and resistance as the verse never does. But for these essays we should not have seen so clearly Patmore's limitations, we should not have known that in aspiring towards an unapprehended world, of which the highest of earthly things are but symbols, he was contracted more and more narrowly into himself until, in his last years, his thought was but a thin rod of light springing from the nether to the upper darkness.

Nevertheless, he was a whole and consistent being. He is rightly called a mystic, and is in no sense a merely intellectual writer of mystical sympathies. He is no more an English Maeterlinck than Maeterlinck is a Belgian Shakespeare, and it would be preposterous to confuse him with writers who are willing to give mysticism a trial, as if it were a second-hand coat that could be cut down to fit or stretched to disguise the gross protuberance

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of age. Mr. Burdett attributes to him a system of thought, but the intellectual coherence which that implies was not within Patmore's reach. His constancy was emotional and founded in character, and he was incapable of rationalizing the impulses of his heart.

It is not easy to forbear a question as to his position as an English poet, now that a hundred years have passed since his birth and nearly thirty since his death. In 1886 he wrote:

> I have written little, but it is all my best; I have never spoken when I had nothing to say, nor spared time or labour to make my words true. I have respected posterity; and, should there be a posterity which cares for letters, I dare to hope that it will respect me.

In the case of his great contemporaries, Tennyson, Browning and Swinburne, much of their prolific work can be disregarded and enough will yet remain to compare with Patmore's entire production. They dealt with varied subjects, their sympathies were diffused over the colonies and outliers of the intellectual empire; but Patmore's virtue is shown in concentration. He is the peer of the greatest of them in his utterance of ecstasy and the nobility of his style. He alone is a metaphysical poet and is not properly comparable with them at all, but with Meredith. Being metaphysicals, Patmore and Meredith perceived the world, both intellectually and spiritually, as other than it seemed; to the one it was less real, to the other more real than its appearance. Patmore saw man in the visible world as the beloved of God, his soul as the bride of God; Meredith saw him as a brave or fretful being, "come out of brutishness" indeed but still subject to "the sacred reality"—inscrutable Earth. Each poet at length was absorbed in his theme, but while Patmore's music became aërial and fine and so died away, Meredith's became perplexed until its obscurity matched perfectly the obscurity of his faith. . . . But all these comparisons are foolish, for genius is unique and therefore incomparable, and the final impression of Coventry Patmore's poetry is an impression of pure genius. It fulfils Swinburne's strict test by eluding all tests and outsoaring criticism.

JOHN FREEMAN.

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NEW INTENTIONS IN THE NOVEL

BY JOSEPH WARREN BEACH

Mr. Sherwood Anderson was ill-advised in choosing for his recent novel the title *Many Marriages*. It is chiefly in the title that he forgets that he is an artist and seems to make a bid for acceptance as a teacher. And surely anyone with a teaching like this would be much wiser not to assume the didactic tone, but to rest his case on the truth, or still better the artistic intention, of his work. For it is hard to believe that the author of *The Triumph of the Egg*, the disciple of Chekov and Andreyeff, is not primarily moved by an artistic intention. The title of *Many Marriages* is simply a hold-over from the period of problem novels, the period in English fiction sufficiently suggested by Charles Reade's *Put Yourself in His Place* and Mrs. Canfield's *The Squirrel Cage*. And it is Mr. Anderson's own fault if the critics have taken him at his word and given their estimate of the doctrine instead of the art of his performance.

The time has come, in the art of fiction, for new terms, new definitions, to keep pace with the many new inventions. Literary history, in England and America, like political history, is always far behind the times. In France it is the other way round. History in Paris is prophecy: terms are invented and movements heralded and described before they ever materialize; and you will sometimes read the history of a school of art which never comes into being. English literature has not been so lacking in invention as the silence of criticism would imply. It has been as active as its sister arts. Years ago Mr. George Moore, writing of an earlier "revolution", the crusade in which he was himself a notable champion, referred to the way in which the several arts were keeping abreast. The movement, says one of his characters, "accomplishes nothing in music that it does not do in literature; nothing in literature that it does not do in painting." It was a question, then, of an art based, like modern thought, on

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logic, the art of an age of science. Such was the "new æstheticism" of which they talk in *A Modern Lover*. But has not the scientific spirit in art—the spirit of George Eliot and Zola, the spirit of Brahms, of Manet and Renoir—largely given way in our times to another spirit, the spirit of sheer æsthetic intention? This is a protean spirit, expressing itself in many ways, and changing its form even as we undertake to fix it with a phrase. But there are several aspects roughly distinguishable in the bewildering throng of forms in which it shows itself.

I

The new spirit expresses itself, for one thing, in the sheer love of design. We see this in poetry in Amy Lowell and Carl Sandburg, as we see it in most post-impressionist painting, which is interested not so much in realistic imitation as in the arrangement of colours and planes of light in decorative patterns. Even in the novel there are signs of a languishing interest in realism and romance, the old categories, and a disposition to treat the stuff of life with some of the constructive freedom of a Gauguin or a Matisse.

Mr. Swinnerton is a story-teller given to free experimentation in subject and method, and he has written at least one book that appeals before all else to the love of design. The effectiveness of *Nocturne* is not in the truth of its psychology or of the study of dingy London life;—there is just truth enough for plausibility and illusion;—it is in the way Jenny Blanchard's romance shines forth upon the background of the Blanchard menage, centering in the dreary senile Pa Blanchard, the way in which her chance nocturnal venture is set in contrast to the safe and commonplace romance of Alf and Emmy. The drawing is vigorous; the points of etched brightness stand out strange and wistful from the rich surrounding darkness. It is a good picture—who wants to put any irrelevant question as to its realism? This is work obviously not done on the principles of Flaubert and the Goncourts; still less congenial is it to the ideal of Stevenson. What could the genius of Stevenson have to say to Pa Blanchard and his beer, or to Emmy and her unromantic betrayal of her sister?

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A more conscious and consistent practitioner of this art is one of our own house. Mr. Hergesheimer seems to have been aware from the beginning of his talent for decoration. And his short stories are as obviously designed in this spirit as his novels. But the most stunning of Mr. Hergesheimer's arrangements are to be found in his novels *Java Head* and *The Three Black Pennys*—especially in the former. In *The Three Black Pennys* he has a fine inspiration, and he displays his usual scholarship and gusto in setting in a row the three periods and the three stages of culture, and woven through them the mystic thread of heredity. Never outside the films of D. H. Griffith has American historical fiction given us such shivers of delight in costume and domestic setting, in the styles and æsthetic passions of bygone times. What can be more delicious than the memories of Howat Penny dreaming over his album of opera programmes of '83 and '84: Adelina Patti drawn in triumph to her hotel with men in evening dress between the shafts for horses? One part is linked to another, in this epic of iron, by the beating hammer of Myrtle Forge and the lurid fires of Shadrach Furnace and Harrisburg. And one generation of Pennys is bound to another by the mysterious associations of ancestral homes and of peculiar tastes and sensations cropping out in times far apart. Mariana Jannan is vaguely irritated by James Polder's taste for orange juice and brandy, as Jasper Penny had been by the similar taste of Essie Schofield. The last Howat when he is dying sees the same "pattern of flying geese" wavering across the tranquil evening sky that the first Howat saw on the day of the raccoon hunt with which the history begins. Such is for this weaver of tales the fascination of recurring themes: he must put before us on the last page the same symbolic pattern which he had drawn upon the first.

Unfortunately Mr. Hergesheimer makes the mistake of trying to have his fine artistic theme of the black Pennys serve also as a scientific thesis, suggesting some confused theory of degeneration through abuse of strength. There is no such confusion in design and no such scientific pretentiousness to spoil the beauty of Mr. Hergesheimer's invention in *Java Head*. So far is he here from pretending to sound the deeps of psychology that he gives

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no more than two chapters to the consciousness of the leading man of the story, and not more than a single chapter to any other character. This same method rules out the possibility of a strongly dramatic effect. The greatest potentialities of drama center about Taou Yuen, the gorgeous Manchu lady so amazingly set down among the staid parochial notabilities of Salem. But this situation is picturesque rather than strictly dramatic. The dramatic implications are but slightly developed: Taou Yuen's personal problem comes up and is settled within a single chapter; and most of this is interior drama, involving, too, a psychology and philosophy so unfamiliar to us as to generate little intensity of feeling. In the last chapter the author deliberately turns away from drama by centering attention upon Roger Brevard, a slight character in what may be called the under-plot. But the very things that preclude drama are what is called for in this kind of picture, or decorative arrangement in colours. Taou Yuen is the central feature, or high light, of the composition, about which are ranged Gerrit, the honest seaman, Edward Dunsack, the Occidental man turned yellow by contagion of the Orient, and a perfect prism of pure Salem types. It is a design in which many distinct bits of graded or contrasting colour are set close together with the boldness of some Cubist study. The great technical feature of this book is the presentation from the points of view of nine different persons, who succeed one another in successive chapters as the changing mirrors in which the action is reflected. These characters are not all of the first importance to the story, and they are of all different sorts: from the girlish innocence of Laurel, proud of being too grown-up for pantalettes but all absorbed in childish things, to Edward Dunsack, treacherous and corrupt and crazed with opium; not to mention the intenser colours of Gerrit, Quixotic man of the sea, and Taou Yuen, lonely and superior, dressed out in high Confucian wisdom as in stiff satins and embroideries. Each one of these characters, major and minor, gives the dominant note of colour to his chapter; and the whole is like a gorgeous and exquisite fan with many-coloured leaves spread wide.

The devotees of romance may complain of the lack of story, or rather the way in which the author turns his back upon the story.

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The solemn votaries of realism may grumble over the sketchiness of the psychology, its mythical fantasticality. But all such criticism is beside the mark if Mr. Hergesheimer has done something "different" enough to escape altogether the old tiresome categories. It may turn out that he has invented a new genre, congenial to the spirit of his day, the Novel as Decoration.

II

In calling any work of art a decoration one does suggest, perhaps, a certain want of depth, of high seriousness in conception. And Mr. Hergesheimer seems himself to have realised that his work might be open to the imputation of being pretty or charming rather than deep and significant. And he has undertaken, in the later work of *Cytherea* and *The Bright Shawl*, to supply that element of profundity. He has supplied it by a choice of themes suggestive of the idealistic romance of Mr. Conrad. The later work of Mr. Hergesheimer suggests particularly *The Arrow of Gold* by the ideal representative character of the motives, call them sentiments or passions, that animate the leading persons of the story.

The Arrow of Gold is the most clearly defined case of a type of romance of which Conrad is a great master if not the inventor, and which it is an amusing task to try to define. The traditional genres of English fiction are realism, a study of society in its diurnal and daylight phases, and romance, a story of adventure in times and places suitable to heroism and fine words. Psychological analysis we associate with the daylight studiousness of science, and we attribute it to the realists. But when we find it pursued with a kind of holy passion to the exclusion of incident, manners, and what ordinarily passes for character, as in the later work of Henry James, we are puzzled to know what school to refer it to. And when the method of James is applied in *Lord Jim* to the commander of the Patna and the beneficent ruler of Patusan, or to the romantic heroes of *Victory* and *Rescue*, we realise that the exploration of the soul may be as congenial to romance as to the most anxious and responsible of realism.

Romance in Conrad has undergone a sea change into some-

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thing akin to poetry. Ordinary romance is after all, in the novel, a prosy matter. The business of the ironclad knight was, we may suppose, the winning of battles and ladies. But in this transcendental romance we are concerned not with the practical business of chivalrous heroes so much as with the pursuit of some abstract romantic ideal suitable to the poets of the Renaissance or of the "Romantic Movement"—something to remind us of *Alastor* and *Epipsychidion*. Monsieur George, in *The Arrow of Gold*, had no business with the Legitimist revolt of Don Carlos; and still less did he have any business mooning over Doña Rita. And his love for Doña Rita was anything but the ordinary love of the heroes of prose romance—that practical determination to possess himself of a princess in a tower. It was a Platonic vision of abstract beauty, a Shelleyan nympholepsy. She was no woman but Woman. She was not even Woman in the abstract as conceived by classic poets. "She was That which is to be Contemplated to all Infinity." And the realization of her infinite nature induced in the hero a most unheroic mood of contemplative quietude. "I had never tasted such perfect quietness before. It was not of this earth. I had gone far beyond. (Like Shelley following Keats into "the Abode where the Eternal are".) It was as if I had reached the ultimate wisdom beyond all dreams and all passion." She was for him an object of poetic contemplation, a symbolic representation of abstract beauty. "I cared for nothing but that sublimely æsthetic impression. It summed up all life, all joy, all poetry." She was even, he feared, a creation of his own mind, a purely ideal creature. "Since I came into this room you have done nothing to destroy my conviction of your unreality apart from myself."

It is thus that Mr. Conrad has introduced a vein of romantic poetry into the novel, and has produced a genre quite distinct from the romance of Scott and Dumas and Stevenson. It goes without saying that he makes no effort to picture the time of love-making of Doña Rita and Monsieur George; that is not within any imaginable reach of prose writing, but must be left to the untrammeled imagination of the poet, as in *Epipsychidion*. And the inevitable conclusion of that love is wholly uncongenial

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to the spirit of what we may call practical romance. "You know," says the wise Mills to his friend George, "that this is not a world for lovers, not even for such lovers as you two who have nothing to do with the world as it is. No, a world of lovers would be impossible. It would be a mere ruin of lives which seem to be meant for something else." This, you may say, is the wisdom of the Realist; and it is true that Conrad is much more of a Realist than Scott and Dumas and Stevenson by virtue of the more searching truth of his psychology. But it is also the wisdom of poetry; the sad wisdom of romantic poetry protesting against the reality of life.

Whether or not Mr. Hergesheimer has taken his inspiration from *The Arrow of Gold*, he has turned the novel in *Cytherea* to the same purposes of poetry, of a disillusioned Platonism. Lee Randon was, like Monsieur George, possessed with a phantom love, symbolized by his doll Cytherea and embodied in his mistress Savina. This phantom love, for which he gave up decency, family, and social position, he conceives in the end as the creation of the dreams of civilized man trying in vain to free himself from the order of nature, which is concerned only with the species. "At the enigmatic smile of Cytherea," he realises, "men desert utility for visions." "That's her secret, what she's forever smiling at—her power, through men's vanity, to conquer the earth. She's the reward of all our fineness and visions and pleasure, the idol of our supreme accomplishment; the privilege of escaping from slavery into impotence. . . . We made her out of our longing and discontent, an idol of silk and gilt and perverse fingers, and put her above the other, above everything. She rewarded us, oh, yes—with promises of her loveliness. Why shouldn't she be lovely eternally in the dreams of men?" The death of Savina is the answer of reality to the question of the poet.

Cytherea has not been liked so well as the earlier novels of Mr. Hergesheimer. He is not so good as Mr. Conrad at combining the poetic intention with the novelistic, nor so good at the transcendental use of the novel as at the decorative. He has tried for depth; and the reader is conscious of thinness. This is still more the case with *The Bright Shawl*. There Mr. Her-

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gesheimer is not content with the Platonism of love, where after all it is a question of personal happiness and a woman. And he turns to an even more abstract ideal—the ideal of freedom; not one's own freedom, nor even that of one's own country, but that of a foreign country deliberately adopted for the purpose. No woman is allowed, as in *The Arrow of Gold*, to motivate the hero's devotion to the foreign cause. No success or hope of success is allowed to support this enthusiasm in a vacuum. And there is no fighting; no blows are struck till the blow on the head of the hero that puts an end to his ideal pursuit. The outward trappings of the story are more gorgeous than ever; the Cuban setting is enough to melt in your mouth. But we are still more impressed with the sense that this lover of Platonic beauty has little or nothing to do with the world as it is. There is perhaps in the later work of Hergesheimer too great a discrepancy between the realism of setting and the poetry of characterization.

Probably the method of Mr. Cabell is after all the best for an idealism that will have nothing to do with the world as it is. Patusan or the island of Baron Heyst are a very good stage for the pursuit of such visionary ideals as Mr. Conrad deals in. But nothing short of Poitesme or that Land East of the Sun and West of the Moon in which Jurgen moves will serve the purposes of Jurgen or Count Manuel. One must speak of Mr. Cabell either briefly or at great length. All we can do here is to remind ourselves of the extraordinary originality with which he has invented a world in which he is at liberty to range at will—locally and morally—and put the human soul through all its paces without let or hindrance from our notions of the world as it is. No one has shown such technical inventiveness in the art of story-telling as Mr. Conrad, nor has anyone in our day so enriched the novel with new materials drawn from the strange actualities of our habitable globe. But nothing shows so well the untried possibilities of the novel for discoveries in the history of the soul as Mr. Cabell's creation out of whole cloth of a dream-world for himself. We know from his own *Beyond Life* and from Mr. Burton Rascoe's introduction to *Chivalry* how devoted he is to life on a purely romantic, a purely ideal, plane—any manner of life which conforms to Pater's prescription of burning with a

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hard, gem-like flame. This poetic conception may be embodied, as Mr. Conrad has shown, in actual men moving among actualities. But Mr. Cabell has chosen to show it forth in purely representative figures moving through a purely representative country among types and symbols of life and circumstance. That is our present day exhibition of the search for the blue flower, or the Holy Grail.

III

We have seen how much of the ideology of poetry may be insinuated into the novel "without our special wonder", and how Mr. Cabell has used romance as a vehicle for the history of purely mythical characters typifying this or that phase of human idealism, thus reviving in prose and in duly modern idiom the allegory of *The Faerie Queene*. But the true lyrical intention is to be found in novels dealing with much less exotic matters than those of *Victory* or *The Bright Shawl* or *Figures of Earth*. It is matters of common experience that call for the interpretation of poetic faith and insight. It is again matters of common experience that call for a particularly intimate treatment to convert us. It is really the undistinguished people whose deeds and circumstances look so much like our own that demand a sympathetic subjectivism of treatment if we are to recognize them as the sisters of our dreams.

We have had quite recently some notable attempts to give such an intimate, sympathetic treatment of common experience in terms suggesting those of lyric poetry in its present-day phase. They have not met with any popular success, with no such success as the work of Mr. Conrad or Mr. Hergesheimer or even perhaps Mr. Cabell. The public have not known what to make of them—a public much less hospitable to radical innovations in the novel than in poetry itself. The most remarkable of these attempts, and much too successful to be called an attempt, is the series of novels of Miss Dorothy Richardson going under the general title of *Pilgrimage*. The guiding principle of her work is directness of presentation. In using the word directness one runs the risk of complete misunderstanding. For the method of Miss Richardson is the exact opposite of what many readers

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might mean by direct. The author presents nothing; the author is non-existent. There is no narrative of event, no description, no characterisation, no psychological analysis, no philosophising. There is nothing but the sensations of Miriam, the girl whose experience is the subject of the books. In short there is none of that explanation which makes up so large a part of the ordinary story; and the reader used to explanatory hints and guide-posts gasps in bewilderment until he can get his bearings in this strange new world. For the sensations of Miriam are as inconsecutive, her ideas as liable to follow queer underground channels of association, as those of other people. What we derive is a large impression of the feel of life under certain conditions. It is something coherent and significant, but very elusive to the faculty of articulate statement. Many detached impressions are grouped together in sections and chapters by some indefinable instinct for composition.

The drawbacks of this system will be evident to any one who reads these lines. The great merit is in the extraordinary reality of the impressions conveyed. Man is not primarily a rational being, and plenty of us go through life, and especially through youth, without much sharper definition of issues than this young English woman. As with Miriam, life is not an affair of plot, with its definite pattern of cross-purposes, its Aristotelian beginning-middle-and-end. Miriam's life is a flowing stream of consciousness; her own movements are but tentacular extensions of her sensibility as she feels her way through the obscurities of a life but half conscious. It has heretofore been the convention of story telling, in the interest of story, drama, or instruction, to simplify and sharpen outlines by setting the characters to work with great directness at certain ends. Here is a new order of truth: life as unclassified dream-stuff. And having so high a degree of verisimilitude, representing so well our own experience, it strikes us as being truth such as we have never met with in fiction. And above all, if we have a bit of mysticism in our natures—and in whose nature is there not a bit of mysticism?—we are impressed, not merely with what may be called the surface truth of the sensations, but with the inner, or poetic, truth. It is here that Miss Richardson is so much superior to Mr. James

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Joyce, whose *Ulysses* has been so widely hailed as the masterpiece in this manner. The method of Miss Richardson in prose is in general strikingly like that of some of the Imagist poets. But, strangely enough, she in her prose narrative more often gives the mystical sense of reality, which is the essence of poetry, than do the Imagists in their verse. This is indeed the one clue in this labyrinth of sensations—the conception of life as a mystical search for reality, for that elusive but recurrent sense of direct contact with the spiritual essence itself. The nearest analogy in poetry is Walt Whitman. The mystic exaltation which is Miriam's goal is the constant possession of the poet of Brooklyn. And it is Whitman who has familiarized us with that complete identification of the subject with experience which determines the technique of Dorothy Richardson's narrative.

Mr. Waldo Frank is still more clearly a mystic and a poet, though I don't undertake to say how good a one; and his *Rahab*, for example, is of the kindred of *Leaves of Grass*, though I don't know whether *Leaves of Grass* would have acknowledged the kinship. He has a vivid imagination, whether for reproducing the externals of physical experience or for striking through the externals to some purely symbolic imagery standing for facts of the spirit. The method of Dorothy Richardson he has carried even further, and has added certain technical devices which are at least interesting, which are perhaps better than that, and which may, in any case, still prove highly effective in the hands of real genius. One of these is the representation in the manner of spoken words of the mute dialogue of thoughts unvoiced—an ingenious and highly poetic way of dramatizing the eloquence of the inner life. Another novelty is the occasional introduction of passages of free verse, representing the moments of lyrical feeling, of mystical exaltation, of the several characters. I fancy that most readers would find this rather bizarre, especially in connection with the somewhat queer notions expressed in this manner. If Mr. Frank proves to be a less important figure than Miss Richardson, it will probably be because of a certain straining for effect which is felt even by readers disposed to welcome his experiments. But I do not wish to approach him here in a judicial, or even in a critical, spirit. I wish merely to bring him

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into relation to the general movement for enlarging the scope of the novel. He should be appraised, when he comes to be appraised, not by any Philistine standard of literal truth. The truth that he has undertaken to represent in his fiction is not the surface truth of dialect and local color, not the truth of Mr. Tarkington or even Mr. Hergesheimer, but the inner, or poetic, truth to human nature in its strange unexplored world of things unspoken, and even things unthought. So that when the reader comes to the passage in a New York brothel in which are presented in the form of verse the soul states of several prostitutes, a judge, and a gambling-house proprietor, he is not to ask whether these people were trained to poetic composition, or even knew that they had poetry in their souls, but whether they had souls and whether these verses duly present them to us in significant terms.

It is for the want of such a warning that so many readers have fallen foul of Mr. Anderson's recent novel, which is likewise a work of essentially lyric intention. Sherwood Anderson is also of the progeny of Walt Whitman; the mystical conception of life and love is his; and the central situation of *Many Marriages*, which many readers find so distasteful and so unnatural, is a dramatization of a favorite theme of Whitman, the sacredness of the flesh. People say this is an impossible scene, that it violates all the canons of probability, of realism. About realism we need not worry. Probability is a more important matter, providing that we do not take probability in a literal and unimaginative way. The question is not whether the average maker of washing machines in a Wisconsin town would set up a statue of the Virgin and light candles and parade before it in the manner recounted in this book. It is not a matter of statistical probability—whether such a performance would be compatible with sanity in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred. That might be a consideration in a novel of Howells or Galsworthy, of George Eliot or Edith Wharton. It would not be a consideration in a novel of Hawthorne or of Conrad. What we are here concerned with is poetical probability, the probability demanded by Aristotle. Is the thing well motivated? Does it represent something fundamental in human nature, normal human nature,

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however unlikely to be enacted in literal fact? And the answer is: it is well motivated by the man's wish to save his daughter from the muddle in which his own love has been lost, to open his daughter's eyes as his wife's eyes had never been opened. And if it does not represent something fundamental in human nature, then we must deny the importance of Whitman and Lucretius and half the poets, ancient and modern. Many readers do not see the point of dragging in the sacred statue and the candles. But that again is something that might have strongly appealed to Whitman. It is not the particular holy symbol, except as a type of purity, nor the particular cult associated with Her, that Mr. Anderson wished to "feature"; and of course the last thing in his mind was a display of irreverence. It was simply that he wanted to bring the conception of love, of natural love, into the range of associations, associations poetic and religious, æsthetic and mystical, to which the Virgin and the candles belong, and for which no other symbols could be found in the Wisconsin town where the story is placed.

This is a composition, an arrangement, as the placing of Taou Yuen in the Unitarian Church in Salem is an arrangement in *Java Head*. Only it is a simpler arrangement, less prettily decorative, less theatrical, less suggestive of a magazine cover. It is more "naif", more "primitive", more Continental, more direct. It goes with the simplicity of style that gives Sherwood Anderson so much distinction in a time of foppery and scented phrase—with the simple recurrent imagery, of the covered well, for example, and the tearing down of walls. And it is this deliberate self-denying plainness of Sherwood Anderson as much as anything else that reminds us that he is producing a work of essentially Lyrical Intention. That is simply a phrase like another, like the Novel of Decoration or Transcendental Romance. But phrases are often helpful in determining our approach to work of an unfamiliar order. And Mr. Anderson is more in need of such a service than any of those of our time who are enriching the novel with new devices, new intentions.

JOSEPH WARREN BEACH.

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THE WOODEN INDIAN AND THE IRON DEER

BY ALLEN TUCKER

A SHORT time ago I stayed in a delightful house, and on the lawn in front was an iron deer. I had not seen an iron deer for a long time, and he started me thinking of other things that I had forgotten.

One forgets things, as in cities one forgets people, only realizing their absence when one sees them again at the end of that absence. And so I thought of other things that had been familar to my boyhood; pictures on the omnibuses, wooden Indians in front of the cigar stores, and the figureheads of sailing ships. All these things were either art or in the direction of art, and in a comparatively short time they had all disappeared. The street cars now bear numbers instead of pictures, the wooden Indians have been crowded out by rotating barbers' poles, the iron deer have gone, maybe swallowed by Italian stone lions, and the figureheads have, together with the romance and mystery of high piled sailing ships, vanished. The mystery of the sea remains, will always remain, but few will dispute that the wonder of the sailing ship has found no modern substitute.

Wooden Indians the town had been full of; iron deer were everywhere through the country; the pictorial busses passed every little while. Figureheads I was not so familar with, remembering only the long row of bowsprits sticking their graceful ends across South Street when I was taken by my father on board one of his own ships, for in those days merchants were apt to do a part at least of their own carrying. Now all this was in the so-called bad period after the Rebellion. The fact that I still speak of that happening as the Rebellion and not as the Civil War places me and places the time with sufficient accuracy.

So the iron deer reminded me of certain things that all indicated a desire for art, indicated that the people wanted art,

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cared for art, tried for art, and did in many cases produce art, for the pictures on the omnibuses were pretty good landscapes, the wooden Indians were in many cases first rate sculpture, the last instance of the survival of colored sculpture, the last stand of the natural instinct of man for color, against the Puritan whitewash or the imitation of the dug up bleached antiques that with all the glory of their gold and color molded away our sculptors have been so delightedly copying.

The cast iron objects of which my friend the iron deer is a survivor were in many cases of great quality. You'll agree with me, if you remember the graceful fountain in Gramercy Park that only yesterday was torn down and its place taken by a lump of darkness that in some way is supposed to perpetuate the brilliant spirit of Edwin Booth. Sometimes one is not so sure that progress always progresses. The figureheads of course everyone knows the value of as pure spontaneous art. All these things came out of the people themselves; art was near, was a part of their lives, was not removed, taken away by the exclusive professional.

For it was about this time that the professional appeared, that Hunt and Richardson returning from Paris brought with them ART. Both these men were artists having creative capacity of high order and filled with enthusiasm for their work; but the hand of the past was on them, archæology had touched them, and so they each in his own way sought to uplift the barbarous American, sought to take him away from his own things and turn him from his own direction. Each man by the force of his personality set a fashion of an antique style, designed buildings whose principal virtue lay in the reproduction of that style, and this country, anxious to learn, underconfident in itself, learned, copied everywhere, first one style then another, forgot its own past, its own tradition out of which its own art should have come, and covered the country with imitation French chateaux and spurious Romanesque buildings, all without life or meaning in this land, or, for that matter, without life or meaning anywhere except at the time and in the place where they originally were made.

These men have been succeeded by others taught in the same way, and over the country have gone waves of archæological

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reproductions. Now these same trained men have done a great deal of good; the movement in this country during the past years has been real; taste everywhere I think has been improved, and largely by the teachings of these men, for in them was a creative instinct that could not be destroyed even by the large doses of archæology they had been made to swallow.

In two cases the architects were forced to design for themselves. One was the country house. This type of house was peculiar to this country, its problems to a great extent its own. There were no copies, at least no complete and total copies, that could be made, so that a great deal of good design has been done and many live and fine buildings are the result. The other happy accident was steel construction. This forced upon men sizes and shapes never before seen and consequently forced into use the creative faculty, and out of this effort through attempts, through mistakes, have come real buildings expressive of the power and aspiration of this American world. We have Mr. Corbett's Bush Terminal Building, the Singer Tower by Mr. Flagg, and the Woolworth Building by Mr. Gilbert, to mention only three of what seem to me to be great successes.

But meanwhile much damage had been done. The people had been taken away from trying to make the objects about them, the objects of their daily lives, into art, and had been instead put to copying things that were dead and gone; had been taught that a thing was good because it resembled something else; had had the creative faculty largely killed and the imitative faculty largely developed; had had authority substituted for taste; had been deprived by knowledge and fact of the use of their creative instincts, so that they no longer thought toward line and color and mass, through which instinctive thoughts alone does art appear. By knowledge I mean knowledge about the external fact as opposed to wisdom about the internal substance. They had had conscious copying substituted for unconscious production, had been taught that manly creation was wrong and that simian reproduction was right.

These men from Paris ignored the wooden Indian; they did not take into account the necessities of construction; they did not take the objects of daily use and turn them into art; they did not

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do what the men of old time whom they so greatly reverenced really did. They just copied the things those men had left behind, and then told the people that that was art. And we had the "period room", often in one house several different "period rooms", and horrors of dead inappropriateness like the Herald Building.

Why the men and women of today are allowed by the decorators to enter these period places is strange, for instantly on the arrival of people in twentieth century garb, the whole foolish fabric falls to pieces. The people who inhabit these places should be compelled to dress like the late Louis or Charles or Roland, the copy of whose house they inhabit.

Archæology! Copying! Archæologists are really the undertakers of art; are only concerned with the corpse of art. Art is a living force here and now, and the objects of the past are useful, necessary to us, to inspire us with art, to fill our souls with the glory of art, with the splendour the men of old created. Past art is to inspire us to make art for ourselves, not to enfeeble our hands till they are no better than copying machines. For know well that art cannot be copied. Creation is the essence; without that there is no such thing as art.

And so this revival, for in spite of all it is a revival, has left us with the radiator, the station stove, plumbing fixtures, mail boxes, nearly all the objects of modern use, objects still untouched by design, when if the ways of the worshiped men of the Gothic or later times had been imitated instead of the objects they had left behind, we should have had by this time kitchen stoves fit for places in our museums alongside of the armor and other iron work we so much admire. So in spite of the fact that a great deal of creative work is being done we still have the reproductive stuff produced in quantity and being admired, for if it resembles something old and good all trouble of decision is saved. The old is good; the new is like the old; no thought nor taste needed, the new must be good. Q.E.D.

At Princeton is a much admired outbreak of what is nothing but stone scenery for a play called College Life. Because the students of the Middle Ages had houses of such a kind, the twentieth century collegians of New Jersey must have like-

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wise, and while in the new buildings much care and knowledge has been used, the two buildings in Princeton that today carry the breath of life are Nassau Hall, standing so serenely among its foreign neighbors, and the Palmer Stadium, with its fine row of concrete arches.

Yale, not to be outdone by her everlasting rival, is building all kinds of Gothic imitation, the theory being, I believe, to connect the modern boy with his long and honorable past, perhaps to make up for dropping classical learning from the imposed studies. If this theory were carried on, why not tear down the three churches on the Green and put up a replica of Stonehenge which would connect the boys with an even more remote heritage of learning and religion? Copying is still carried so far that ornament is copied all the time instead of being created, and I am told that in offices the draughtsman must show his original for everything he does. Out of such a system artists do not come.

The same external copying or copying the external goes on in painting and sculpture, copying especially the English school, that school that sold its birthright for the favor of the great. Those men only flattered the looks of their sitters; the modern by copying the flattery and copying Reynolds at the same time not only makes his sitter as flaccid and saccharine as she may wish but also makes her look like a Reynolds, and as Reynolds painted duchesses why she too looks like a duchess; and the heart of the climbing democrat can of course desire no more. Sculptors copy antique models with care and receive praise for their subservience.

It is generally Europe that is copied. I know we came from Europe, are Europeans, but we have ourselves by now, an accomplishment of our own, and until recently, when there is a rather senseless copying of the external of colonial stuff, we never cast our eyes on our own things. The buildings of value we had we have been careless of. Think of dumping that Post-office where it ruins the appearance of our lovely City Hall! Think of the savage and senseless destruction of St. John's Chapel of Trinity Parish, with its unrivaled spire!

We copy the old things. We do not seek to develop the artistic

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spirit that made those things, the spirit that all over this country for years made nearly everything it touched a thing of delight and beauty. I think it was Mr. Lay who first pointed out what so few realize, that the New England town is the only town anywhere originally built on a plan, the only town made with a design, the only town with a feeling for form instinct in its very bones.

We rave about Italian villages and never see the quality of our native towns. I don't believe in the American eagle screaming, but there is no reason why he should spend his time sitting on foreign eggs in the attempt to hatch out what are always foreign birds, while so often the eggs have proved to be nothing but china somewhat devoid of life.

See the French modern country houses, see the Salon or the Royal Academy, and you won't, if you are honest and have any taste whatever, be led to worship an entire civilization because of those sights.

Walk through the rooms at Fontainebleau and note from Francis First to Napoleon the same crowding, the same lack of scale, the lack of unity, the lack of austerity, the tendency to theatricalness, and then suddenly think of Mount Vernon and wonder if our young men were sent there to study if maybe on the whole their artistic development would not be better.

France has produced great things, a long line of great men, and especially in the last seventy-five years a succession of painters who worked in individual ways, whose total contribution to art has been great indeed. But let us keep things clear. For the greater part of these men were opposed by the Academies, by the State authorities; they had to fight with no help and often fierce opposition. The French or Italians as a whole are no more nor less artistic than other peoples, but they have learned over a long series of years that art is important, that art is a ruling force in the world, and that art adds to the greatness of a nation. Most of them don't know art when they see it, but they do value art in the abstract.

Here at home this is exactly what we have not learned. It is one of the things we must teach ourselves in the near future, for if the mass of the people value art it is certainly easier for

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the people of talent to get their chance to produce and be of their proper value to their country and to the world, instead of as often at present being submerged by the sea of materialism and ignorance.

One of the important things in a country is that the spiritual forces should be encouraged and fostered, and this is what I complain of in many of the foreign trained men. Instead of encouraging and developing the native leanings toward art, they simply said: "You know nothing. Art is made in Europe. We have been there and learned about it. Whatever you do that is not directly inspired by something in Europe is useless." The people here were frightened and discouraged, and that attitude of the learned is largely responsible for making art an extraneous thing, a thing to be bought by the rich, instead of a thing that is only to be had for the trying; so that art and jewels—those sure marks of the survival of savagery—are in the public mind put in the same class.

Without going into the question of nationality in art, I do think we know enough from psychology at present to believe that man produces out of his subconscious mind, that that subconscious mind is the well wherein all the early impressions are stored, and that it is probable that those early impressions are the ones that influence our minds most deeply. So it seems that men will be most apt to produce permanent and valuable things when they move along their own natural lines. Learn from other people all you can, but attach that knowledge to those natural lines. It is not wise to go off on an entirely new line.

We are living in a renaissance, a time of great spiritual activity. In the future we will be envied for having lived during one of the great periods. That activity in this country has undoubtedly been increased by contact with the wonders of Europe, but let us be sure to use those things to increase our own creative activity; to use them neither merely to collect nor to copy. In the Italian Renaissance this is what happened: The old things showed what man had done, and the Italians said, "We too are men such as these, we too can create;" and the world was suddenly filled with the glory of their achievements. And then

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knowledge increased and the creative flame burned more feebly, and the power of the objects of [illegible]tique world became greater than the power of the soul of [illegible]que world; the shadow was taken for the substance. See S[illegible]aria dei Miracoli in Venice, and see there the Renaissance al[illegible]ith creative beauty, making something never before made in j[illegible] that way; the spirit speaking again through vivid line and form. Then after long years, when man stopped dreaming and had waked up knowing facts and forgetting fancy, see the hopeless pile of stone in Paris called the Madeleine.

All through this country today, for the most part unknown to the mass of the people, art is being produced, architecture, painting, sculpture, and decorative art. How good it is you and I cannot tell; we are too close to it; but it is everywhere, East and West, this flaming forth of the human soul that is called Art.

Uncrushed by the weight of dreary knowledge, lifted by the breath of art blowing down the centuries, the Wooden Indian still looks out over the plains of the imagination, the Iron Deer still roams the lawns of happy fancy, and it behooves all of us to foster and encourage with all our might this effort, so that each one may get a chance to give of his best, that this country may produce that without which it can hardly be called a country, a permanent addition to the stream of art that has been flowing for the last twenty thousand years.

ALLEN TUCKER.

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STENDHAL—A[illegible]ICAL VENTURE

BY ARN[illegible] WHITRIDGE

"I SHALL dine late," sa[illegible] Walter Savage Landor, "but the dining room will be well-lighted, the guests few and select." How comforting to be so sure that while his contemporaries persisted in ignoring him, somewhere in the future a discriminating band of readers would forever burn incense at his shrine! Contempt for popularity may be only the gesture of a poseur or it may be, as it was with Landor, an essential part of a man's philosophy. The early nineteenth century was a great age for heroics. Cambronne's laconic remark at Waterloo, so lovingly commemorated by Victor Hugo, Byron's hurling down the gauntlet to the embattled Mrs. Grundys of the world, these are after all only more picturesque phases of Landor's quiet appeal to posterity. Nor was he alone among men of letters in his philosophic resignation. Charles Lamb's resolution to write for antiquity is only a more whimsical expression of the same spirit, but a more startling parallel may be found in the words of that most enigmatic of Frenchmen, Henri Beyle: "*Je n'écris que pour une vingtaine de personnes que je n'ai jamais vues, mais qui me comprennent.*"

Landor's eclectic dinner is perhaps still to be served, but there is no question that Beyle, or Stendhal as he preferred to call himself, has come into his own. Mr. Lytton Strachey has pointed out in an illuminating essay the extraordinary diversity of Stendhal's appeal. Taine hails him as a great psychologist, Zola recognized in him the founder of naturalistic fiction, while in more recent times M. Maurice Barrès has gathered Stendhal to his heart as the very incarnation of honour. Now the interesting note in this great chorus of eulogy is that every man who has had occasion to speak of him catches in Stendhal the reflection of his own peculiar virtue. Perhaps it would be more accurate to say that he symbolizes the one constant trait in the infinite

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variety of French letters. If Taine advocated a scientific study of history or literature, it was because the scientific approach seemed to him the most logical. For the same reason Maurice Barrès deplores the modern Santa Maria in France to gravitate towards Paris. It is more than unlive with, it is criminally illogical for the young Frenchman to forsake the ancient and honorable *vie de province*. This passion for province, for which her neighbors across the Channel think France is sometimes willing to pay an exorbitant price, is the characteristic above all others that endears Stendhal to his countrymen. We may not think of logic as an endearing quality, but let us look at it for a moment through French eyes. Strip off its academic or philosophic trappings and it appears in the more attractive guise of sincerity. Here at last we have a touchstone whose virtue no one will deny. Once we can prove that Stendhal is sincere in all his vagaries, in his carefully deliberate profanity, in his contempt for his family and his country, we shall eventually find our way into the inner sanctum of the "*chapelle Beyliste*".

Stendhal was only six years old when the terrifying news reached Grenoble that the Bastille had been stormed. It was an early age to form an opinion, but he tells us in his autobiography that he immediately threw in his lot with the people. From then on, partly perhaps to spite his father, for whom he always entertained a resolute contempt, Stendhal liked to think of himself as an ardent republican. His political theories remind us somewhat of the well-meaning curé of the *ancien régime* who habitually addressed his congregation as "*canaille chrétienne.*" Stendhal was too honest to hide his hatred of the mob, though he stoutly maintained that under the name of "*le peuple*" he passionately desired their welfare. Politics, however, never seriously arrested his attention. An early devotion to mathematics left him with an "*amour fou pour les bonnes définitions*", a love which was more easily gratified by philosophy and logic than by any attempt to grapple with problems of government.

When he arrived in Paris in 1799 Stendhal had already formulated his ambitions. Lack of money combined with the influence of his cousin, Pierre Daru, Napoleon's chief commissary, drove him into the army, but lack of money could never make him a

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"*beau sabreur*". Thirty years later, when the Napoleonic legend was at its height, Stendhal's military reminiscences were extraordinarily vivid, but his actual soldiering was limited to little more than a year in a regiment of dragoons. Sainte-Beuve apparently thinks that he took some part in the Battle of Marengo. To use his own delightful phrase, "*il assista en amateur à la bataille de Marengo,*" but of this Stendhal himself makes no mention. As a non-combatant he toured Europe in the wake of Napoleonic victories, rising from the rank of adjutant in the commissary department to the more or less exalted post of Intendant of Brunswick. It was while he held this position that he won the Emperor's approval by raising an extra two million francs for the Imperial coffers beyond the authorized levy.

Force of circumstances had made Stendhal first a cavalry officer and then a glorified quartermaster, but during all those tremendous years of the First Empire his mind was busy revolving the more permanent questions of literature and philosophy. The letters to his sister Pauline, the only member of his family for whom he had any affection since the death of his mother, contain practically no references to his campaigns. Occasionally he writes with engaging frankness about his amorous adventures, but for the most part he busies himself about her education. She must read English poetry, the recognized French classics of the eighteenth century, and above all, his pet philosopher, Destutt de Tracy. "I am in despair at not being able to bring you a new bonnet," he writes just before going on leave, "but I have Tracy and *Gil Blas* for you instead."

Tracy is certainly not a name to conjure with in our day, but his *Elements of Ideology* is better reading than many a bald textbook on philosophy that affects to ignore it. He was a distinguished man, Monsieur Destutt, Comte de Tracy, Member of the Institute of France and of the Philosophic Society of Philadelphia, as he proudly styles himself on the title page. Jefferson, who had known him in Paris, was proud to undertake the translation of his commentary on Montesquieu. Napoleon invited him to accompany the expedition to Egypt and never forgave him for refusing the offer. Altogether, he was a man of some importance in his own generation, whose name was as well known among the

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literati of America as it was in France. But to Stendhal he was infinitely more than a man of some importance; he was the originator of the science of ideas. While Locke was the first man to attempt an explanation of the human understanding, as one might explain the properties of a plant or a mineral, Tracy pursued the analysis one step further. His system of philosophy undertakes to explain the process of thinking. Building on the foundations laid by Locke and Condillac, Tracy arrived at the conclusion that thinking and feeling were practically synonymous. It seemed to him, in other words, that thought was the invariable product of sensation, and that once we had analyzed our sensations accurately, nothing could prevent our thinking clearly. Tracy's theory of sensationalism was eagerly taken up by Pierre Cabanis, a doctor and freethinker, who had first come into notice as the intimate friend and physician of Mirabeau. His *Rapports du physique et du moral de l'homme*, one of the most materialistic philosophies ever penned, was Stendhal's Bible. Together with Tracy's Ideology it constitutes the quarry from which he hewed his inspiration.

We refer, of course, not to the plot or to the characters of either of the two great novels, but to his method of telling a story. "*Romans toujours manqués*," says Sainte-Beuve, and at the end of the first hundred pages the newcomer to Stendhal will be more than willing to agree. And yet there is no lack of action in his novels. Lovers climbing ladders to their mistresses' windows, prison towers where heroes languish until the jailer's daughter contrives incredible escapes, poet revolutionaries plotting battle, murder and sudden death—Stendhal's novels are positively cumbered with the paraphernalia of romance. Why, then, do the uninitiated find them such heavy going? Because Stendhal insists on developing his story in accordance with the dictates of his favorite philosophy. The dramatic scenes are invariably scamped to make room for an analysis of the emotions that made them possible. "*M'exercer*," he says in his journal, "*à me rappeler mes sentiments naturels, viola l'étude qui peut ne donner le talent de Shakespeare.*" If we sometimes catch ourselves nodding over *Rouge et Noir*, and *La Chartreuse de Parme*, it is because the two heroes, Julien Sorel

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and Fabrice del Dongo, have inherited a craving for natural sentiments from their creator. When Stendhal is most anxious for his characters to act naturally, the story breaks down. In *Rouge et Noir*, when Julien is bent on reconciling his two mistresses, one of whom he has tried to assassinate, he becomes utterly unconvincing. Instead of acting passionately or instinctively, he is suddenly struck with the importance of comporting himself in a logical manner. What Stendhal failed to grasp was that in certain crises no one, however rational, deliberately plans to act reasonably. Certainly it was neither logical nor natural that Julien's mistresses should drive off together in the same carriage after his execution.

Assuming for the moment that Stendhal's philosophy leads him astray whenever he allows it to supply the motive force of his novels, it is invariably effective in illuminating isolated episodes. Perhaps the Waterloo scene from *La Chartreuse de Parme* is too familiar to justify any further comment. Every critic of French literature has pointed out how in this description for the first time a battlefield made its way into a novel in plain clothes. Victor Hugo gave us Waterloo in a full-bottomed wig; Erckmann-Chatrian painted a charnel-house; but Stendhal, through the medium of Fabrice, showed us a battle as it really is, in all its bewildering complexity and inconsequence. His horse is stolen from him, he blunders into a group of staff officers and gets carried away in the full tide of retreat, without ever knowing whether he had been in a battle at all. Here at any rate Stendhal is completely successful. For once, the logical and the natural march side by side.

In all his novels, including the unfinished sketches published posthumously, Stendhal never varies his type of hero. Octave de Malivert, in *Armance*, and Lucien Leuwen, are chiselled from the same block that provided Julien and Fabrice. Bourgeois or aristocrat, they are all detestably selfish. Stendhal had had to make his own way in life, and though he was of the eighteenth century in his love of reason, he was emphatically of the new order in his worship of energy. In the romantic novel of Chateaubriand and Benjamin Constant a curious blight had fallen upon heroes. Those lackadaisical young men who found the

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world a miserable vale of tears reappear in Stendhal fortified with a dash of Napoleonic extract. Not for nothing had he followed the Emperor from Milan to Moscow. The crash came just too soon for him to win the coveted prefecture and the title that would have gone with it, but fifteen years' service as soldier and functionary under Napoleon had taught him that a man can make his own career. Stendhal's heroes are at the same time hardheaded and romantic. Periodic fits of melancholy never blur their vision of the main chance.

Hero worship, however misguided it may be, is always an attractive quality, and Stendhal's passion for Napoleon is one of his most human characteristics. If Napoleon had done nothing but open the door to Italy, he would have been eternally grateful to him. Instead of which Napoleon had rescued him from a pettifogging life at Grenoble and started him on the life-long "*chasse au bonheur*". Like the older sister who delights in tormenting the younger members of the family, but resents the slightest familiarity from an outsider, Stendhal can be caustic enough about his hero in the intimacy of his journal. After all, he is too intelligent to swallow the whole Napoleonic legend himself, though he is perfectly willing to administer it to the characters in his novels. It is refreshing, for instance, to come across his comment on propaganda, which we sometimes wrongly imagine to have been one of the noxious inventions of our own times. "*Les Bulletins,*" he says, referring to the Emperor's communiquès, "*étaient des machines de guerre et non des pièces historiques.*" When he sees Napoleon's official smile he recognizes it as "*le sourire de theâtre où l'on montre les dents mais les yeux ne sourient pas.*" These details, however, only serve to throw into higher relief the essential greatness of the man. Quite apart from the fact that he had remade the morale of the French people, Stendhal idolized Napoleon as the embodiment of energy. In his hatred of the mediocre, of anything even approaching "the divine average", Stendhal was a thorough-going romantic. He was pleased to style himself a republican, but his republicanism was eternally wedded to strong arm methods, and founded on nothing more substantial than contempt for an effete monarchy.

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It was inevitable that Stendhal's admiration for Napoleon should occasionally interfere with his literary judgments. With his characteristic love of analysis he lays bare his emotions on meeting Lord Byron. For the author of *Lara* and *Childe Harold* he had the most profound respect, but how could he shake hands with a countryman of Sir Hudson Lowe? Luckily the meeting took place in an opera box, and before Stendhal had had time to examine his feelings Byron was adroitly drawing him out on his experiences during the retreat from Moscow. The acquaintance begun under such favorable conditions continued until Byron left Milan. Stendhal could not resist his magnetism, but he is struck by the same quality that baffled Voltaire when he met Congreve. Like Congreve, Byron set more store on being born a gentleman than on becoming a distinguished poet. If Stendhal had been better versed in aristocratic weaknesses he would have humoured him by pretending to share the poet's own belief that he wrote his verses with the careless ease of a man of quality. As it was, his estimate of Byron brings out the same combination of charm and insolence observed by so many of his contemporaries. The aura of genius was unmistakable, his talk was the best in the world, but at any moment he would become "*tellement Anglais et lord*", to use Stendhal's own expression, that he could never bring himself to accept his invitations to dinner.

Stendhal's observations on England and English poetry were inaccurate but very often acute. He was, as far as we know, the first Frenchman to appreciate Shelley. Whether he ever met him or not is doubtful, but he expressed a desire to be buried next to "Monsieur Bishe-Shelley" in the Protestant cemetery at Rome. In the letters to Pauline he continually bursts into bad English, exhorting her to read his favorite authors. Like every one else in France, he passed through a tremendous phase of Sir Walter Scott, whose imitators he estimated at two hundred, but as he grew older he discarded him for the same reason that he had discarded Victor Hugo. Neither of them penetrated or even attempted to penetrate the outer skin. They were both adepts at describing a breastplate or a buff jerkin, a talent for which Stendhal grew to have increasingly less respect. Though

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never a realist, his active, ranging mind demanded more than the romantic novels could ever give. Scott had the further disadvantage of being a Tory and, of course, his *Life of Napoleon* was anathema to any Frenchman except a Bourbon.

The real source of Stendhal's affection for England, and it was a genuine affection as long as St. Helena was not uppermost in his mind, was Shakespeare. In the year 1822 an English company attempting to produce *Macbeth* in Paris met with the most disastrous reception. Shouts of "*à bas Shakespeare, l'adjutant de Wellington!*" indicated that the failure was not entirely due to artistic shortcomings. Stendhal promptly set to work to pave the way for a more intelligent understanding of Elizabethan drama. His *Racine et Shakespeare*, published in the following year, was one of the first skirmishes in the Romantic campaign. Without pretending to be a carefully reasoned brief for Shakespeare, its pungent epigrammatic style cut through the national prejudice against anything English, so that when Kean and Macready appeared in Paris a few years later they played before respectful houses. The victory, as we all know, was never decisive. *Othello*, in Alfred de Vigny's translation, was condemned for its substitution of the plebeian pillow as an instrument of murder in place of the time-honored dagger. Even in our own day Anatole France has unequivocally maintained Racine's greater truth to nature, but Stendhal at least opened the question. His conception of Shakespeare's genius was thoroughly typical. Shakespeare was great because he knew nothing and because he surrendered himself to his sensations—in other words, because he could be fitted into Stendhal's theory "*qu'il faut sentir et non savoir.*"

It may be bad policy to look a gift horse in the mouth, but we can not help feeling that his admiration for Shakespeare was marked more by enthusiasm than by intelligence. For once, Stendhal happened upon the truth unconsciously. In his own novels, however passionate the scene, he always subordinated the emotions to the intellect. Apparently in his criticism of the drama he reversed the process. Shakespeare, the wild untutored genius, was the necessary antithesis to Racine, the shallow rhetorician. If there was one quality that Stendhal disliked

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above all others it was rhetoric. The Alexandrine line, the very corner stone of classical drama, was for him nothing but a "*cache-sottises*". Judging from his *Racine et Shakespeare* Stendhal was a thoroughgoing disciple of Victor Hugo, but he parted company with the Romantics on this same question of rhetoric. He prided himself indeed on caring nothing for the beauties of expression. Whatever was factitious, or even ornamental, in literature, infuriated him. In the famous letter to Balzac containing the prophecy that he might be read in 1880, he admitted patterning his style on the *Code Civil*. For a man who is preeminent in fiction for his treatment of passion, he is curiously lacking in purple patches. Deliberately immoral he may be, but never erotic.

The treatise on Love, one of the works most cherished by the professional Beyliste, is almost impregnable to the uninitiated. It was a subject on which Stendhal's knowledge was beyond question, and "if people like that sort of thing, that is the sort of thing people will like". A much greater book, though no less analytical, is his *Vie de Henri Brulard*. Thanks to Monsieur Debraye, the librarian of Grenoble, the entire manuscript has at last been completely deciphered. An abridged, inaccurate edition was published some thirty years ago, but until M. Debraye came into the field Stendhal's handwriting may be said to have defied all comers. Now that the authoritative text is before us we venture to predict that the *Vie de Henri Brulard* will take its place along side of *Rouge et Noir* and the *Chartreuse de Parme*, far above the rest of Stendhal's miscellaneous writings. This autobiography, for Henri Brulard is no one but Henri Beyle, was composed during the last years of his life, while he was serving his country as consul at Civita Vecchia.

If we would understand the meaning of that mysterious quality, Beylisme, Henri Brulard is the best point of departure. It is of course only a point of departure, for the true Beyliste can identify the sovereign essence in the most unexpected places. He can extract Beylisme with equal facility from the *Life of Mozart*, the *Walks about Rome* or the *History of Painting*. The word was coined, characteristically enough, not by his admirers but by Beyle himself. It stands primarily for two things—the

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worship of intellectual energy, and a passion for sincerity that becomes at times almost ferocious. Stendhal's own literary activity could hardly have been more diversified. He was at the same time a novelist, a musical and dramatic critic, and author of a history of painting and a number of glorified guide books. Everything he wrote glows with energy and sincerity. His heroes persist in battering down prejudice and when, as in *Rouge et Noir*, they end on the scaffold, they meet death still scoffing at the hypocritical decencies of society. Stendhal would have scorned the modern conception of history as a series of trends and movements. History in his eyes was a succession of great men bending destiny to their will. The Girondins failed because in a time of crisis they relied on intelligence rather than force of character. Such was Stendhal's philosophy of history, and so far as the cult of energy goes it was neither very original nor very interesting. The fascination of the man lies in the other half of his character.

We have already referred to his love of sincerity, a quality which he raised to the status of religion. It remains to be shown that Stendhal's definition of sincerity was considerably more comprehensive than ours. When his mother died during his childhood he was offered the perfunctory consolation that "God had taken her". From that moment he conceived a dislike for God, and for religion in general, that lasted until his death. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church appealed to his sense of power, but its doctrines always antagonized him. Patriotism was another quality that excited his contempt. Dr. Johnson no doubt was joking when he described patriotism as the last refuge of a scoundrel, but Stendhal would have lept at his definition as the very truth. His reverence for Napoleon was not actuated by any love of country. Patriotism, even when it did not involve intellectual dishonesty, was far too bourgeois a virtue to excite his admiration. Like Byron, he never tired of reiterating his preference for Italy. Of all countries in the world, Italy was the only one that understood art or respected literature.

It would be a mistake to lay too much emphasis on Stendhal's derogatory remarks about his own country. Possibly he demobilized his intellect after the Napoleonic wars sooner than

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most Frenchmen, but that was because his knowledge of foreign literature and foreign points of view was more extensive. Compare his *Memoirs d'un Touriste* with any other contemporary book of travel, and Stendhal's greater cosmopolitanism is at once apparent. He can discuss Andrew Jackson, *The Edinburgh Review*, and Gothic architecture, with equal gusto. With the best will in the world, intellectual curiosity can not be kept within national limits. Stendhal was born with a passion for analysis. The fortunes of a certain lieutenant of artillery created within him an abnormal appetite for knowledge and sensation. If he was ruthless in satisfying these cravings, he was at least ruthlessly honest in recording the fact to himself and to posterity. He will never be as popular abroad as he is at home, because the Frenchman thrills to what is *net* and to what is *clair* to a degree that no foreigner can understand. We envy his intellect and we respect his sincerity; but for all that, we pass by on the other side.

ARNOLD WHITRIDGE.

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A MUSICAL TRAMP ABROAD

BY LAWRENCE GILMAN

London, June, 1923.

ALL American concert-goers and critics should make an annual journey of observation to England—unless they choose to go to France. But as England is nearer to Carnegie Hall and the Philadelphia Academy of Music than Paris is, they had better aim at London. There they will, in some important respects, be put to shame, if they still have left the capacity for that salutary reaction. For in England, the public that goes to orchestral concerts displays none of that disinclination to listen to new works, modern or ultra-modern, which is so marked and so disheartening a trait of our American concert audiences. We all know that there is nothing but discouragement and opposition in America for the conductor who chooses to offer contemporary works, especially of an "advanced" character, to his audiences. The subscribers do not want them, the critics (with one or two nonconformist exceptions) do not want them, and the box office registers disapproval if the conductor persists. Barring the recurrent ululations of a few malcontents like Deems Taylor, Pitts Sanborn, and the present scribe, the reviewers do not repine over the neglect of contemporary novelties; and the public, far from inviting the exhibition of new scores, bitterly resents being asked to listen to them. It is of course everyone's privilege to dislike a Stravinsky or Casella or Schönberg work after he has heard it; but in New York most of us are unwilling even to hear such works, and would be perfectly content with an orchestral repertoire made up of standard pieces, classic and modern.

In England (and also, as I shall later remark, in France) the situation is entirely different. London concert-goers display no advance antipathy to an ultra-modern score. They may and often do dislike it after they have heard it,—which is their privi-

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lege, of course,—but they do not object to hearing it and giving the composer a run for his money. Consequently, Sir Henry Wood and Coates and Goossens feel free to keep their English audiences abreast of the times in the creative field, and their programmes exhibit a stimulating condition of aliveness and variety; whereas Mengelberg or Stokowski or Monteux or Hertz cannot perform a typical contemporaneous work in our halcyon republic without the certainty of provoking complaint among their subscribers and hostility in the press. Coates and Wood and Goossens can count at least upon interest and receptiveness, if not upon an approving attitude toward the music itself—which is of course another matter altogether.

I reached London after the close of the regular orchestral season; but I heard the London Symphony Orchestra play under Weingartner in a special series of concerts, and I also heard Goossens direct his orchestra in a concert given by Murray Lambert, who is what is known in England as a "*lady violinist*".

The London orchestras operate under grave difficulties. They are, for the most part, unassisted. The Government provides no help for them; and such magnificent private subsidies by music-loving and public spirited millionaires as our American orchestras enjoy are unknown in England. One of the orchestras is to some extent backed by a certain prosperous music firm; but this is rather a disadvantage than otherwise, as it is said to predispose that orchestra's choice of programmes in favor of the firm's publications, so far as new works are concerned. Generally speaking, the educated and prosperous classes in England, from whom support of the orchestras would normally come, are unmusical. It is not "smart" to be musical in London—chiefly, they will tell you here, because those at the Top are not musical. There is a very small minority of cultivated people who center about the activities of the Younger School of British composers and writers—music-makers like Goossens, Arnold Bax, Lord Berners and Lady Dean Paul, and critics and expounders like Edwin Evans and Leigh Henry. But this minority is better known outside of England than in London itself—the average upper-class London dowager has never heard of Bax or Goossens; she is still devoted to Clara Butt, remembers with regret the old

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days of Italian opera at Covent Garden, has a secret passion for sentimental ballads, and thinks Elgar very "modern". It is a significant fact that the British National Opera Company, now producing opera in English at Covent Garden, drew its most fashionable and crowded audience on the night that Melba appeared in a polyglot performance of *La Bohème*, Nellie singing Mimi in Italian, and the other members of the cast warbling in the speech of the British Isles.

One of the results of this situation is that the English orchestras, being unsubsidized, are always badly off for funds, and are unable to pay for adequate rehearsals. Naturally, the performances suffer in quality. There are good players, for instance, in the London Symphony Orchestra and in Goossens's Orchestra (which is a picked body of men, made up of the best elements in the other organizations). But the London Symphony Orchestra, playing under even so experienced a drill master as Weingartner, lacked precision and balance, and gave a performance of Beethoven's *Seventh Symphony* which Mr. Stock or Mr. Mengelberg or Mr. Sokoloff would have regarded as merely a good beginning for the first day's rehearsal.

A word here concerning Mr. Weingartner: He appeared in London after many years' absence, and was greeted with fervid enthusiasm, not only by the public, which cheered him lustily, but by the press, which praised him without a dissenting voice. I confess that I was unable to share in this enthusiasm. Mr. Weingartner played the *Allegro* of the Schubert *Unfinished* as an *Andante*, and the *Andante* as an *Allegro;* but this eccentricity might have been pardoned him if he had not read through Schubert's symphony—and, later, Beethoven's *Seventh*—in a rigid, wooden, metronomic style that ignored innumerable subtleties of pace and accent. Most of his conducting was mere time-beating, stiff and insensitive. I have heard far less illustrious conductors than Mr. Weingartner give finer performances of the *Unfinished* than he achieved; and Weingartner's reading of the *Seventh* was not to be mentioned in the same breath with even Monteux's.

But Englishmen's standards of orchestral performance are not ours, and their ears appear to be insensitive. They have heard

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in London innumerable great conductors as guests; but they have not heard fine conducting as continuously as we have, nor are they accustomed to superlative orchestral playing. Their resident conductors—Wood, Coates, Landon Ronald—are second-rate.

I must except from this generalization, however, Eugene Goossens. I heard him conduct only the *Magic Flute* Overture, the accompaniment of the Elgar violin concerto, and Holst's opera, *The Perfect Fool.* What he would make of a Brahms or a Beethoven symphony I do not know. But he is undoubtedly a conductor of uncommon ability. He has technical skill, authority, a sure control of the orchestra; and he is vivid, vital, and expressive in his handling of rhythms and dynamics. Whether he is as deep as a well or as wide as a church door I cannot say.

It is perhaps germane to these observations to say that English musicians betray an astounding lack of awareness concerning music in America. I met some of the leaders of musical thought and activity in England. In talking with these men I found a startling and grotesque ignorance of musical activities west of the Atlantic, and a condescending and indifferent attitude toward the subject. A certain writer, for example, thought that the Philharmonic was "Mr. Damrosch's orchestra"; another did not know who Mr. Stokowski was. One becomes aware of an ill-concealed attitude of contempt toward our musical doings. They seem to have no knowledge of the fact that our orchestras and conductors are incomparably superior to theirs; and they are evidently averse to believing the testimony of their own ears: for one of them spoke slightingly of the unsurpassable New York Symphony Orchestra, which he had heard in London. The English are far ahead of us in their development of a vigorous native school of composers. We have no such group of creative musicians as Bliss, Bax, Goossens, Holst, Berners, Ireland, Vaughan-Williams, and the rest of the "Younger British" school. English music, which languished unaccountably for two centuries after the great days of Byrd and Purcell, is now experiencing a genuine renaissance. But on the interpretative side they are leagues behind us—and don't know it (also, they would never believe it).

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The situation in France, or, rather, in Paris, is roughly what it is in England: poorly paid and poorly trained orchestras, indifferently conducted, but playing a refreshingly varied, progressive, and stimulating repertoire. I heard in Paris the Colonne Orchestra, the Pasdeloup, Koussevitzky's, and the composite one conducted by Walter Straram; besides the orchestras of the Opéra and the Opéra-Comique. Among the conductors I heard Pierné, Rhené-Baton, Koussevitzky, and Straram. The Lamoureux and Conservatoire Orchestras had ended their seasons before I arrived.

The orchestral picture in Paris is strikingly different from the one we are familiar with in America. Instead of hearing Brahms and Tschaikowsky and Richard Strauss *ad nauseam*, one never hears them at all; instead of hearing few ultra-modern works, one hears them constantly. Furthermore, the programmes are curiously put together, and are very long. Here, for instance, are three of Koussevitzky's, conducted by him in his series at the Opera House; the concerts began at 9 P.M., and lasted almost until midnight:

1. Berlioz.....Overture, *Carnaval Romain*
2. Schubert.....Unfinished Symphony
3. Riegel.....Symphony in D major
4. Mozart.....Aria from *The Magic Flute*
5. Mozart.....“Adam” Variations

(Ada Sari)

6. Honegger.....Tone-Poem, *Chant de joie*
7. Delage.....Two Songs with Orchestra
8. Stravinsky.....Aria from *Le Rossignol*

(Ada Sari)

9. Moussorgsky.....Tableaux d'un Exposition

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1. Bach.....B minor Suite
2. Bach.....Italian Concerto for harpsichord

(Wanda Landowska)

3. Mozart.....B-flat major piano concerto

(Landowska)

4. Debussy.....Sarabande and Danse

(Orchestrated by Ravel)

5. Stravinsky.....Symphonic Poem, *Chant du Rossignol*
6. Prokofieff.....Symphonie Classique

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1. Bax.....Tone-Poem, *The Garden of Fand*
2. Reed.....Scherzo
3. Tansman.....Scherzo Symphonique
4. Prokofieff.....Scythian Suite
5. Liszt.....E-flat piano Concerto
(Robert Casadesus)
6. Beethoven.....Seventh Symphony

Koussevitzky's concerts are by far the most interesting in Paris. He conducts an orchestra made up of men from the Colonne, Conservatoire, and other orchestras, and some of them are accomplished players. The strings are good, the woodwind is excellent; the brass is harsh in tone, though some of the solo men are exceptional—Koussevitzky's tuba played superbly a solo in Moussorgsky's *Pictures from an Exposition*. Koussevitzky himself is a remarkable personality—dramatic, expressive in his gestures (perhaps too gracefully so), full of fire and vitality, a little spectacular, possibly somewhat self-conscious. In music like Stravinsky's *Nightingale* or Prokofieff's *Scythian Suite* or Moussorgsky's *Pictures from an Exposition* he is at his best. His Beethoven (*Seventh Symphony*) was unconventional in conception and treatment, but unquestionably effective. His Schubert was equally untraditional, but effective, and showed some defects of judgment in balance [illegible] and adjustment of sonorities—melodies were understressed and accompaniments overstressed. The Bach Suite he played admirably, with true eighteenth century elegance and grace. He is very much alive, and is never commonplace. He seems, however, to be essentially a modernist. His performance of the classics would outrage the Old Guard, but they would certainly interest the younger generation, and would probably nourish the box-office.

The other conductors whom I heard in Paris are mediocrities. Pierné (Colonne Orchestra) is soporific, with limited technique, though a good musician; he is deadly dull. Rhené-Baton (Pasdeloup Orchestra) is hopelessly insensitive. Walter Straram is curiously ineffectual (he is a protégé of Ganna Walska, and is the miscreant who taught her to sing). Coolet, Gaubert, and Chevillard (the latter has just died) [illegible] able to observe, as they had ended their season's work

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I heard in Paris a number of orchestral novelties by important composers—Honegger's *Song of Joy* and Prelude to *The Tempest;* a *Sarabande* and *Danse* by Debussy (two piano pieces beautifully orchestrated by Ravel); a *Scherzo* by the Englishman W. W. Reed, and another *Scherzo* by Alexander Tansman, the Polish "futurist"; a *Passacaglia* by Anton Webern, the Viennese ultra-modern; a suite (Op. 12) by Bartok; some ballet music by Pierné; two songs with orchestra by Jacques Pillois. None of these works has been heard in America. The most consequential of them are Honegger's *Song of Joy,* an attractive and exhilarating work; Webern's *Passacaglia;* Bartok's suite, and the two Debussy-Ravel pieces.

I heard also a number of other modern works, not novelties in Europe, but unknown in New York. These were Stravinsky's *Song of the Nightingale* (a symphonic poem derived from his famous opera-ballet); Prokofieff's *Scythian Suite;* and the Moussorgsky-Ravel *Pictures from an Exposition.* It is a pity that none of these is known in New York, for they are all works of great interest. Stravinsky's, indeed, is already a modern classic, and it is difficult to explain to European musicians why New York has never heard it. The music would doubtless bruise a good many ears, but it has pages of such wit, fantasy, and poetic beauty, that it would be welcome to receptive hearers. I heard Mlle. Ada Sari sing the dialogue of the Fisherman and the Nightingale from the operatic version of *The Nightingale,* the music of which is not included in the symphonic poem. This part of the score is much more easily apprehended (it was written at an earlier date) and is music of captivating charm. It would be delightful to hear some especially qualified singer like Eva Gautier sing this piece with one of our orchestras, if the symphonic poem is forever banned.

Prokofieff's *Scythian Suite* has been played in Chicago, but never in New York or Philadelphia. It is a strikingly powerful and original work, but harmonically drastic; the last number of the suite—an evocation of a Pagan solar rite—contains one of the most remarkable and exciting climaxes I have ever heard; but it would doubtless be disliked by our New York audiences and critics.

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The Moussorgsky-Ravel suite, *Pictures from an Exposition*, would unquestionably be popular in New York, as it is perfectly simple and comprehensible (it was composed in 1874). The original work is a suite for piano, never scored by Moussorgsky.[1] The version that I heard was scored, most brilliantly and effectively, by Ravel. Mr. Koussevitzky informed me that Ravel's orchestration was made especially for him, was dedicated to him, and is his personal property (the music is unpublished). He told me that he "hoped to conduct it in America himself in the near future"—whatever that may mean. There is another orchestral version of Moussorgsky's work, made by an obscure composer whose name I have forgotten. It has been played in Chicago by Stock; but I have not seen that version, and cannot vouch for its effectiveness.

The guileless stay-at-home concert-goer is not to conclude from all this that his French or English brother is more musical than himself. He isn't. The Parisian or the Londoner will applaud performers and performances that would ruin a manager's reputation in New York or Boston or Philadelphia or Chicago and cause the offending "artist" to be shot at sunrise by popular edict. He does not, apparently, know the difference between good singing, good violin or piano-playing, and bad; nor is an orchestral performance for him a thing that is listened to with shrewd discrimination and an appraising ear and mind. But what he has, and has magnificently, to his endless honour, is æsthetic curiosity. He may not know how to estimate sensitively what he hears; but the point is that *he wants to hear*—or at least is willing to hear. And that is the beginning of wisdom.

LAWRENCE GILMAN.

[1] The piano version has of course been heard in New York.

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AFFAIRS OF THE WORLD

BY WILLIS FLETCHER JOHNSON

Good may come out of evil if the unseemly controversy over vinous beverages on foreign ships in American ports shall lead to definitive action on two questions which for generations have been a source of friction and sometimes of war between nations, which are conspicuously suited to settlement by adjudication or by what we may call international legislation, and yet which have repeatedly and persistently been shelved by the very governments most interested in them. One, to which I referred last month as then at issue between Great Britain and Soviet Russia, is the width of the coastal waters over which a country may claim jurisdiction; the other, the degree of jurisdiction which a government may exercise over a private alien ship within its territorial waters. Concerning neither has there ever been general agreement. As to the first, Bynkershoek, Vattel and Lampredi held that cannon shot, in their day three marine miles, was the proper width; in which case, should we now adopt the range of the "Big Bertha"? Rayneval thought that the horizon should be the limit of proprietorship; though a perplexing mathematical question might arise as to just where the horizon is. And Azuni wanted the matter settled by special treaties among nations; a plan which might lead to a nation's extent of marine jurisdiction varying in the same waters, according to its varying relations with other Powers. As to the second question, disagreement over it has been still more marked, and the policy of individual nations has not always been consistent. Thus we now claim complete jurisdiction over foreign merchant ships in our ports, even to the extent of breaking seals and confiscating beverages in transit and not intended for consumption within our boundaries. Yet Webster, as Secretary of State, said that in the American view of the case a merchant ship in alien waters retained to a very considerable extent the jurisdiction and authority of the laws of

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her own country. Thus, he argued, slaves on board an American vessel in English waters did not fall under the operation of English law. Obviously there has been a pretty complete reversal of our policy in these eighty years; or else we must regard wine drinking as a more heinous crime than human slavery. There seems to be urgent need that the nations shall agree upon some definite code covering both these matters. If they cannot do that, in a time of profound peace, what hope is there of their ever agreeing upon such far more difficult matters as reduction and limitation of armaments and abstention from war?

A striking illustration of the contrast in attention paid to the unusual and to the commonplace, even when the latter is the more formidable, was provided by the eruption of Ætna. It was, doubtless, an appalling calamity, properly arousing worldwide horror and sympathy. Yet at the very same time a spell of hot weather in the United States was destroying more lives and incomparably more property, and was causing a thousandfold more suffering and distress. Both were, of course, far beyond the power of man to check or to have prevented; leaving nothing that could be done save to relieve distress and repair losses so far as either was possible.

One of the most lamentable incidents of this generation in the educational world was the enforced retirement of Alexander Meiklejohn from the Presidency of Amherst College. I shall venture to describe it as the doing of a necessary thing in an unnecessary way. Dr. Meiklejohn had shown himself one of the few real educational geniuses of his time. But unfortunately he had also shown himself to be a poor business man and administrator; and—still more unfortunately—it was, as it very generally is, required of a college President that he should be the principal business man and administrator as well as the chief educator of the institution. On the ground of his lack of capacity as an executive the trustees were right in wishing him to retire from the business leadership of Amherst. What is not merely regrettable but really unforgivable is that they did not several years ago perceive the drift of affairs and take effective steps so to reor-

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ganize the college corporation as to make it possible to retain Dr. Meiklejohn for the work which he was doing superlatively well and in which it was almost an intellectual crime to interrupt him, and at the same time to place in other hands those other duties for which he was constitutionally unfitted. If Dr. Meiklejohn made an error in his Commencement Day remarks it was in saying that the college of the future would have no trustees. It will have trustees really much more than the college of today; but they will be trustees who not merely passively hold but also actively administer their trust by so providing for the material management of the institution that the President and faculty will have nothing to do but to look after its intellectual welfare. The tragedy of Amherst—for it was nothing less—should hasten the coming of such a system.

It was given to Pierre Loti—as it has been to very few—to read his own obituary and to learn the posthumous judgment of the world upon him and his works. Nearly a year before his actual death he was, by some unexplained mischance, reported dead, and elaborate critical obituaries of him were published in both America and Europe. Happily not one of them, so far as I observed, contained anything which he would have wished not to be said of him. It would be difficult, indeed, to imagine any rational person saying anything to the discredit or in disparagement of one of the most exquisite literary artists of the age. It was an interesting coincidence that he died at the very time when another great sailor author, Joseph Conrad, was marking perhaps the zenith of his career by making a visit to this country in which he was received with seldom rivalled honours. How much were they both influenced and inspired by "the beauty and mystery of the ships, and the magic of the sea"? Add to that influence Loti's profoundly spiritual nature, and his complete absorption of himself with the literature, the imagery and the *ipsissima verba* of the Bible, and we need go no further for the explanation of such works as *Rarahu* and *Pêcheur d'islande*.

Maurice Hewlett, like Loti, did his best work many years ago; but, also as in Loti's case, when those many are multiplied many

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times, his writings will not be withered by age or staled by custom. They have the authentic impress of a genius that is perennial in its appeal to human interest. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature of his work was its spontaneity, its freedom from even the slightest odor of the lamp, although of all writers of his time he was one of the most studious and painstaking. His *Forest Lovers* has all the meticulous perfection of a lapidary's most elaborate masterpiece, yet it has the freshness and natural freedom of a wildflower. The same supreme quality appears no less strikingly —perhaps even more strikingly because of the comparison which is inevitably made—in his *Richard Yea-and-Nay*. Compare, I say, that work with *The Talisman*. There can be no doubt that it presents a picture of the Lion Heart technically far more accurate than that drawn on Scott's splendidly glowing pages; nor can there be any that it is also superior in its *vraisemblance*—perhaps I should say in its actual revivification of Plantagenet times.

Alaska's very practical vindication of Seward's vision has long been the veriest commonplace of comment. But it may pardonably be repeated, with a still longer excursion into the past, on the occasion of the first visit of a President of the United States to that vast and opulent region which has been property of the United States for more than half a century. In fact our vital interest in and a measure of our influence over Alaska date back exactly a hundred years. It was in the summer of 1823 that John Quincy Adams thwarted Russian designs of conquest and of empire by bluntly informing Baron Tuyl that we should contest Russia's title to any establishment whatever upon this continent. The significance of that prelude to the Monroe Doctrine lay in the circumstance that Russia was at that time actually making military and naval preparations to seize the whole Oregon and California coast down to the Mexican or former Spanish line, and then to restore to Spain the sovereignty of Mexico and all regions south. That would have divided the entire western coasts of these continents between Russia and Spain and would have barred the United States completely away from the Pacific. Against that threatened barrier Adams hurled a foursquare block of New England granite, smashing it to smith-

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ereens. From that day Russia lost interest in her American province north of Fifty-four Forty, and from that day our ultimate acquisition of Alaska was assured. Exactly a century later a President of the United States makes a progress through our Territory of Alaska, and in doing so reminds us that on the "Ocean of the Future" as Seward called it, from which Russia sought to exclude us altogether, we have a greater frontage than any other country in the world.

After forty years a monument of manly heroism and high achievement has been erected at the point which for a number of years was the "furthest north". At Cape Sabine the Greely Expedition, the American member of the international circumpolar chain of observers, struggled, suffered and—most of its members—died; but triumphed. Seldom was there a more splendid boast than that which the almost lifeless lips of Greely stammered out to his rescuers: "Here we are—all that is left of us—dying like men—did what we came for—beat the best record!" Happily, General Greely himself survives, to have seen the tablet of bronze which amid the eternal ice of the Arctic is to display to the cold gleam of the Northern Lights the story of "what long-enduring hearts could do".

It has been reserved most fittingly for France, having more nearly than any other modern nation approximated the culture of the Greeks, to advance in one respect beyond the standard of Hellenic civilization by making the Olympic Games an intellectual and artistic as well as a physical competition. The French committee which has next year's games in charge makes the interesting announcement that there will be a five-fold competition in literature and art, of equal rank and dignity with the athletic contests. The five competitions are to be in Literature, Architecture, Music, Painting, and Sculpture. All the works entered are, of course, required to be created expressly for the occasion, and also to have some form of athletic achievement for their themes. The winners will receive medals of equal value with those given to the athletes, similarly bestowed by the President of the French Republic himself. That is, apparently, a step beyond

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the Greek custom. For while authors, orators, poets, musicians and artists used to take advantage of the enormous gatherings of the best citizens of the Greek States at Olympia to make public exhibition of their works, there is no record of their ever having been received as competitors in the games. The novel experiment will be justified or discredited by the event. There is a general feeling that intellectual works of the highest merit cannot be produced to order, or as the result of a competition; and it is true, I believe, that most poems, musical pieces and other literary or artistic productions in competitions in our own day have been commonplace. Yet some of the noblest poems and musical compositions have been written "on occasion" and literally to order; so have still more of the best paintings and works of sculpture; and so have practically all architectural achievements. It will be interesting, indeed, to see what works of genius, if any, this Olympiad brings forth.

Not even the sternest anti-feminist should object to the latest demand of the women of England for equality of legal rights with men. That is, equality in the divorce court. It has ever been one of the most extraordinary and most discreditable anomalies of English jurisprudence that women should be denied divorce for the one supreme reason which is almost everywhere regarded as sufficient cause and by many is held to be the only really valid cause; and that, incidentally, physical cruelty should be deemed—by implication—a greater wrong than adultery. A husband has of course always been able, since the Reformation, to get a divorce from his wife on the ground of even a single act of infidelity to her marriage vows of chastity. But no such right has been enjoyed by women. A man could have as many mistresses as he pleased, and consort with them as openly as he pleased; he could even introduce them into his own house, in the presence of his outraged wife; but the wife could not for that reason get a divorce. To enable her to do that, he must treat her with physical cruelty. A slap in the face would do more for setting her free from him than all the mere adulteries in the world. The righting of that astounding discrimination must be reckoned a real triumph for common sense and common decency.

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NEW BOOKS REVIEWED

THE DOCTOR LOOKS AT LITERATURE. By Joseph Collins. New York: George H. Doran Company.

The best qualities of Dr. Collins's essays as criticism are precisely those most apt to arouse opposition; namely, their fearlessness and freedom from conventionality. These, coupled with acute and trained intelligence, are almost enough to assure that a book shall be refreshing and worthily interesting. Whether the result can be called criticism in the full sense of the word, is another question. Great critics have generally possessed something of the creative power; they have done almost as much to promote right thinking and to intensify the spiritual life of their readers as have the authors whose works they have discussed. Neither Dr. Collins's method nor the writers he has chosen for comment lend themselves to such effects.

That the essays are really critical in their main intent—critical rather than diagnostic—should, however, be made perfectly plain. It is with books as books that the author is primarily concerned; he is only secondarily concerned with the writers as psychic phenomena or as moral characters. Far from attributing to genius the defects of insanity, after the fashion of Nordau, he is perhaps rather too ready to accord to exceptional abnormality the title of genius. Criticism, somewhat wavering in point of view (as will be pointed out) and not always strictly sequential, is what the Doctor has written.

The view expressed in an early chapter regarding the relation of psychology to literature is broad and suggestive. "Fiction writers," Dr. Collins says, "should not attempt to carry over the results of psychological inquiries as the warp and woof of their work. They should study psychology to sharpen and discipline their wits, but after that the sooner they forget it the better." This is a sound piece of advice and a really philosophical saying. Fiction is bigger than psychology. Both deal with life; but to limit the novelist to the point of view of the psychologist is to obliterate the distinction between science and art. The writer of fiction will best further the understanding of human nature if he will cultivate the whole of his field and not merely the scientifically mapped-out part of it. But what about the statement which immediately follows this illuminating remark in Dr. Collins's essay? "The best thing that fiction writers can do is to depict the problematic in life in all its intensity and perplexity and to put it up to the psychologists as a challenge." Here is a claim for pathological realism that is in itself a challenge.

After this, it is only fair to point out that Dr. Collins does repeatedly emphasize the right of man's higher interests, as well as his instincts, to be represented in literature. "Without cant or piety," he writes, "it may be

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said that there is such a thing as higher life, spiritual life, and readers of psycho-analytic novels must keep in mind the fact that the Freudian psychology denies the reality of any such higher life, accounting for the evidences of it which are unescapable in terms of 'sublimations' such as 'taboos'." But what follows this acknowledgment is mainly an exposition of the way in which partially submerged instincts conflict with "interests" and complicate life. Here, then, it would seem, lies the principal use of fiction. Something like this is what one means by saying that the Doctor is not always strictly sequential. A problem is raised—the relation of literature to life—and the author is not nearly so clear about it as he is about the relation of literature to psychology. For the most part he does not meet the question squarely but appears to waver between two points of view. These two viewpoints, curiously enough, correspond very closely to the point of view of the physician and that of the patient!

Without intentional offence to the members of the medical profession, it may be said that many physicians appear to have two philosophies. As scientists, they think of life biologically; "higher interests" are merely a part of the general scheme of cause and effect. Religious belief, for example, is merely a cause that does or does not in a given case make for mental stability and health; it may be a symptom of approaching insanity or a preventive of suicide! But as a member of society and particularly as a reliever of human suffering the doctor is the most human of beings. He usually appears not so anxious to convert the layman to his point of view as to assume the point of view of the layman. Something of this division between the scientific and the humanistic state of mind appears to be observable in Dr. Collins's criticism.

The truth is that his interest in the characters of fiction is behaviouristic rather than humanistic, so far as his analysis goes; yet he appears to shy away occasionally from this purely professional view, and to make observations or express implications that do not follow closely from his first principles. To James Joyce, Dr. Collins unhesitatingly ascribes genius. But why? "Mr. Joyce has made a contribution to the science of psychology, and he has done it quite unbeknownst to himself, a fellow-countryman might say. He has shown us the process of the transmuting of thought to words . . . Mental hygiene takes on a deeper significance to one who succeeds in reading *Ulysses*, and psychology has a larger ceinture." Psychology, not life! Feodor Dostoievsky appears truly to the Doctor to have been a great genius. "Not only has he depicted the different types of mental alienation, but by an intuition peculiar to his genius, by a species of artistic divination, he has understood and portrayed their display, their causation, their onset—so often difficult to determine even for the expert—and finally the full onset of the disease. Indeed, he forestalled the description of the alienists. . . His legacy to mankind is the record of his unconscious mind revealed in his novels." Here again the professed interest of the critic is purely objective and scientific.

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He does, indeed, seem to take the humanistic view when he tells us with much eloquence that Dostoievsky is one of the most consolatory of all writers. But what are Dostoievsky's consolations worth? The Doctor does not say. It appears to be enough for him that they are soothing in the same sense that the climate of Colorado is said to be good for tuberculosis. Really the only attempt in the essay to estimate the human worth of Dostoievsky's writings is found in the rather strange and apparently inconsequential statement: "Many thoughtful minds believe that Dostoievsky has shown us the only salvation in the great crisis of the European conscience."

In discussing Dorothy Richardson, Dr. Collins quite frankly and refreshingly takes the point of view of his readers: "The question which everyone must decide for himself is: when such revelations of the conscious and the unconscious are spread before him in words and sentences, does the result constitute gibberish or genius; is it slush or sanity; is it the sort of thing one would try to experience; or should one struggle and pray to be spared? Has anyone identified himself with Miriam Henderson and added to his or her stature?" In his essay upon Marcel Proust, however, he is again mainly objective. He cannot withhold his admiration from this author, who has succeeded in writing with eloquence, with tact, nay, with something like poetic beauty, about one of the most unmentionable of vices. From a literary point of view, of course, the achievement is merely a "stunt". The real interest is pathological. In his essay on W. N. T. Barbellion, Dr. Collins says quite inspiringly and therefore quite unscientifically: "There is a certain degree of greatness from which, when a man reaches it, he can always look over the top of his wall of egotism. Barbellion never reached it." William James himself is hardly kinder than this to our moral prepossessions. The Doctor positively denies that Amiel was the victim of an obscure psychosis and, like any man of common sense, attributes the self-confessed failure of that celebrated diarist to his "personality." Yet a few pages further on, he declares that "Amiel's tragedy was that he outraged nature's unique law and nature exacted the penalty. If the world had a few thousand Amiels and they got the whip hand, it might cease to exist." We are back on the Freudian basis again. In his criticism of Georges Duhamel, the pacifist, the author is again the out-and-out biological philosopher, declaring that "you might just as well ask a man who is drowning not to struggle as to ask a man to return good for evil—that is, unless he is doing it as a stunt, an artifact, or in redemption of the promise to be saved." But while, like Mark Twain, he raises the question whether the joyful maniac is not the happiest of human beings, he appears to take for granted the moral solution of the problem: happiness, considered as the ultimate end of life, cannot be a mere feeling. Still in his humanistic mood, the Doctor points out that Mr. D. H. Lawrence is really clamouring for and trying to create a world without ideals, "but most people, I fancy, will continue to believe that his world will not be a fit place to live in should he be able to finish his task. Meanwhile he is doing much to make

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the world less livable." But the really crushing criticism of Lawrence's *Psychoanalysis and the Unconscious* is that it "contains more misinformation in a small space than almost any recent book save the *Cruise of the Kawa*."

After so much quotation and summary, it is doubtless the reviewer's duty to sum up. One's final impression is that the psychological and biological way of thinking does not afford a sufficient background for criticism. Its best result is that it makes criticism fearless and unconventional, while it operates like any other body of personal convictions, or any other warp of mind, in securing the unification that makes for interest and in giving to the comment a certain sting and zest. To learn from Dr. Collins what each of the writers he discusses is consciously or unconsciously up to is, moreover, highly instructive. This critic, however, appears to lack the faculty possessed in a singular degree by William James, of reconciling opposed attitudes of mind. He makes no adequate synthesis of the bizarre and abnormal with the natural and human. On the whole, instead of finding "human interest" in the aberrant types he finds psychological interest in the normal types, and, in the case of Dorothy Richardson, he laments that it is not possible for so gifted a writer as she to treat normal human life by the method that is instinctive and necessary for the egoist writing of egoism. He lauds Dostoievsky and Marcel Proust almost equally as great psychologists; that is, virtually as behaviourists, as describers of human reactions. His genius-gibberish paradox seems to imply a radical confusion; for it omits the very element which in a humanistic view is decisive for criticism. With all due respect for biology, it is precisely the element of personality, the perhaps unreal but instinctively assumed *quale*, that makes persons different, and with its assertions of responsibility and inviolability—it is precisely with this that literature as distinct from psychology ought to deal. In the group of writers of whom Dr. Collins treats, Dostoievsky is certainly the one undoubted genius—primarily because he had what one recognizes as a great personality, and only secondarily because he was a great psychologist. The tendency of such criticism is to set upon the same level literary manifestations of the most diverse motives and values, assimilating them through a scientific abstraction that is false to literature.

DAMAGED SOULS. By Gamaliel Bradford. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

"The proper study of mankind is man;" but certain modern thinkers have altered this text to read, "The proper study of mankind is the unconscious self." Literature has its proper province, its own standard of values, and from Shakespeare to Henry James it has mainly adhered to them. The great successes have been humanistic successes. In either fiction or biography any marked departure from the fundamental literary aim must ever seem bizarre, excursive, and questionable.

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It is because Mr. Bradford understands so clearly the limitations of his province, as well as the splendid opportunity that it offers for the profound and humanly useful interpretations of common sense in the study of human conduct, that his accounts of certain remarkable personalities have a depth and an interest next to that produced by genius.

Penetration, sympathy, justice, these three are necessary to the biographer, but of these justice is the most indispensable. Justice implies not merely impartiality but judgment and balance and exactness. In criticism, in business, and in human affairs generally, it is the practical equivalent of profundity. The profound thinker is not generally the person who has access to super-normal sources of information, but rather he who has not only considered but weighed all the alternatives. The poets are perhaps exceptions to this rule, but the poets, excluding Horace and a few others, have not shone as critics of actual living character.

Nowhere is the quality of justice more needed than in an attempt to estimate souls so extreme and divergent as those of John Brown, Thomas Paine, Aaron Burr, P. T. Barnum, Benedict Arnold, Benjamin Butler, and John Randolph. Mr. Bradford, however, is felicitously equal to the demand. The governing point of view is that of a well-informed, well-poised mind, adequately skeptical, adequately appreciative of all things human. Speculation stops short just at the literary limit; the fourth dimension of character is just suggested, and the picture is in no case spoiled by attempts to diagram mental processes.

Biography should be scientific in its regard for truth but humanistic—humanistic and not sentimental—in its spirit. A narrative of human conduct written without feeling, without implied judgment of value, without thought of worth, is not a biography but a report, valueless except in relation to some unstated special purpose. But the very essence of the art of writing in the classical sense has always been to draw the line exactly between sane sympathy and sentiment, between sober skepticism and human faith. Not only does Mr. Bradford hold to this mean accurately and eloquently as he proceeds from sentence to sentence of his narratives, but his verdicts are in the classical vein and temper. To write moderately, wisely, and above all agreeably, of Benedict Arnold is surely no easy task. Even George Washington in referring to this traitor seems to have spoken inconsiderately. But Mr. Bradford succeeds in his difficult task, and his final paragraph is worthy of Solon:

"The legend ran in the British army that Arnold offered to give himself up for André, but was prevented by Clinton. If so, it was a cruel bit of kindness. To have given his life for André's would have averted those bitter years, would have gone far to redeem his name from infamy, would have saved him from having to change the proud motto of his earlier day, *gloria sursum*, glory above all things, to the sad legend which he adopted at last, *nil desperandum*, only too aptly mistranslated: nothing but despair."

As between this opinion and the biological-determinist view of human con-

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duct, the literary mind at least will always be upon the side of the angels; yet how difficult it is to keep the path of sanity between such recognition of the soul's indefeasable worth and the excesses of romantic hero-worship!

Whatever lesson or effect of edification one may receive from Mr. Bradford's work is purely the legitimate result of his portraiture. By means of this art, however, he has managed to say something that could not be convincingly expressed in any other way—and this is the justification of art. We are all, or most of us, in some degree damaged souls! Science may tell us that we all have primitive, unconscious minds, but art tells us this—and as usual art is nearer to life than is science.

De Senectute. By Frederic Harrison. New York: D. Appleton and Company.

It is perhaps regrettable that a great man's last words are not necessarily either his best or the most truly representative of him. It is not meant to imply that any darkness had fallen upon the mind of Frederic Harrison in his last years. On the contrary, a very potent appeal of this latest book of his is the mental vigor which it displays in despite of the recognition of old age, its sorrows and its limitations. This quality, by the way, is least manifest in the title essay, a dialogue in which Mr. Harrison did not succeed in being so consolatory, so sprightly, or even so original as Cicero. But the passage of time in the course of a life of ninety-two years inevitably places a different emphasis upon different phases of a man's habitual thinking and feeling. What all seemed equally strong and good as originally thought, and what truly was so judged historically and by its influence, does not all today seem equally relevant.

The various papers collected in *De Senectute* have for the reader of today very different values. Nothing could be more interesting and authoritative than Mr. Harrison's Victorian memories—his moderate defence of the era in which he lived as by no means given up to banality and ugliness, his illuminating account of it as not even a very coherent period but a period of progress and change having no very fixed character or physiognomy. Nothing could be more acute and trustworthy than his valuation of Strachey's portrait of Victoria herself—whatever one may think of the characteristic remark, "To my mind it proves the danger of entrusting high political functions to a woman, and the wisdom of the people who invented the Salic law." The one historical essay, that on the City of Constantinople, combines imagination with intellectual enforcement of historic truth in a manner quite characteristic of the author. Personal conviction and taste join with scholarly lucidity to make the essay on Greek and Elizabethan tragedy something more than a comparison of obvious characteristics—though it is not very much more, and though, as in nearly all such discussions, a part depends upon the definition of the

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word *tragedy* and a part upon inexplicable personal preference. It cannot be said that in his essay upon translation Mr. Harrison succeeded in expressing much that is really original or suggestive, and the defence of positivism in the essay entitled *A Philosophic Synthesis*, while it most effectively stresses the frequently ignored need of every one for a philosophy, a synthesis, of some sort, seems to proceed largely on grounds that have been abandoned by philosophers and most other thinkers to-day.

On the whole, it is for its Victorian memories that this book of last sayings will be oftenest referred to.

THIRTEEN WORTHIES. By Llewelyn Powys. New York: American Library Service.

Mr. Powys is a writer much praised by certain sensitive and more or less competent critics, yet one who, though ingenious and apprehensive almost to the degree of creativeness, seems always incomplete. His particular gift seems to be for the representation of nature human and inanimate, and such representation, sometimes enforced, sometimes warped, by the influence of a very active temperament and by an exceptional experience in South Africa, is what he has so far given us.

Just as in *Ebony and Ivory* he made the African scene stand out, so in *Thirteen Worthies* he has reproduced the very atmosphere of certain personalities from Chaucer and Montaigne to William Barnes and Thomas Hardy. No true reader of the products of these thirteen strong, vital, and racy minds can deny that Mr. Powys has caught the very flavor of their characters.

Only here and there does this writer show that almost perverse perspicacity and that unexpected emphasis which is generally characteristic of his brother, John Cowper Powys, and which is sometimes revelatory in addition to being almost invariably entertaining. He shows it perhaps in his reference to the inherent skepticism of Chaucer's mind, in support of which he quotes the lines—

> A thousand tymes have I herd men telle
> That ther is joy in heven and peyne in helle;
> And I accorde wel that hit is so;
> But ñatherless, yit wot I well also,
> That ther is noon dwelling in this countree
> That either hath in heven or helle y-be.

But on the whole there are in these essays few apt or memorable sayings; there is little criticism. The writer's art consists in enhancing and once again recommending what has been already perceived and appreciated. In artful recombination of familiar elements and delicate emphasis upon them he excels.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"FRANCE AND THE FACTS"

SIR:

In THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW of March, 1923, appeared an article by Mr. Laurence Adler on *France and the Facts*. The article states that "in 1913, when the franc was in the ratio of five to the dollar, France spent on her army $531,814,947 and America $316,432,952."

The amount spent on our army in 1913 was $96,059,616.24, divided as follows:

Army	$90,958,712.98
Forts and Fortifications	4,036,235.00
West Point	1,064,668.26
	$96,059,616.24

In 1914 the amount spent was $100,574,030.38, of which sum $94,266,145.51 was for the army and the balance for the forts, etc., and West Point.

It states: "In 1922, with the dollar at eleven francs or over, France was spending on her army $491,000,000, and America $868,000,000." The total disbursements for the fiscal year (1922) by the War Department were $454,730,718, for all purposes; this included rivers, harbors, and all work carried on under the said department.

It is stated: "It is a matter of common knowledge that the Allied Commissions in Germany are frequently stumbling upon hidden stores of arms." Mr. Clemenceau made the same statement when in this country and it was promptly and flatly denied by the Allied Commission.

Up to January, 1922, it is stated, "3,985,913 of the population had returned to the devastated area." Premier Briand stated on April 7, 1921, that "the pre-war population of the devastated region was 4,700,000, and it had 1,900,000 at the Armistice. At present it is 4,100,000." On July 30, 1921, the Minister of the Liberated Region reported to President Poincaré that "the population on June 1, 1921, was 4,165,253." If Mr. Adler's figures of returned population are correct, then this region had a population of 5,885,913, or over a million more than M. Briand stated the pre-war population was.

"Roads in need of repair 53,830 kilometers," or 32,082 miles. "Roads repaired 31,965 kilometers" or 19,875 miles up to January 1, 1922. The Minister of Liberated Regions reported on July 30, 1921, that "28,885 miles had been repaired" up to June 1, 1921.

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"Navigable routes destroyed, 4,084 kilometers. Navigable routes repaired, 3,986 kilometers," as of January 1, 1922.

On September 20, M. Claveille, Minister of Public Works and Transportation, reports to President Poincaré, that "navigation is almost normal once more along the Aire, Deule, Sensee, St. Quentin and Somme canals." The above shows the canals were repaired over two years in advance of Mr. Adler's statement.

Mr. Adler states: "The value of the capital in this region of France (devastated) amounted to 9,082,986,155 francs. On this labor of reconstruction the French Government has thus far spent 93,000,000,000 francs, and the work of restoration is far from finished." A little later in the article Mr. Adler states: "It is calculated that 130,000,000,000 francs will be needed to complete the work of reconstruction." If Mr. Adler is correct it will take over 13 francs to restore one pre-war franc or 1200 per cent increase. This does not appear possible, when for work in this country, the most expensive place in the world to carry on construction, the increase over pre-war costs does not exceed 100 per cent.

Mr. Adler states that ninety-three billion francs had been spent down to January 1, 1922. If this is so, then the French Government spent nearly seventy-two billion francs in the last seven months of 1921, as against a trifle over twenty-one billion francs from the Armistice down to June 1, 1921, a period of nearly 31 months. It does not appear possible that seventy-two billion francs could have been spent in the seven months or that it will take a total of 130,000,000,000 francs to replace property destroyed by the war, when it is noted that for reconstruction the Minister states about eleven and one-half billion had been spent down to June 1, 1921, for general reconstruction purposes; and when this is taken into account with the work completed, as stated by the other Ministers and this compared with Mr. Adler's figures of property destroyed and capital invested, it looks to the average person as if Mr. Adler's facts and figures were propaganda of the kind of which the country has had its fill.

CHARLES H. LEDLIE.

St. Louis, Missouri.

SIR:

In answer to the question raised about the expenses of American armament in 1913 and 1922, pages ten and eleven of the official report given me by the French Government give exact duplicates of the figures given in my article.

As to the statement that it is a matter of common knowledge that the Allied Commissions in Germany are frequently stumbling upon stores of hidden arms, this information was given me also by one of the gentlemen of the Foreign Office.

As to the question raised about my figure 3,985,913 for the population

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returned to the devastated area up to January, 1922, the exact figure is given in another report to me by the French Government. If the French Government does not have authoritative figures on this subject (in spite of all Premier Briand may have said on April 7, 1921), I do not know where correct figures may be obtained.

Roads in need of repair, 53,830 kilometres. I refer the writer to the report on the "Reconstruction of the Devastated Regions of France." He will note that my quotation is correct. He will also note that somewhat later in his questions he quotes me for navigable routes destroyed, 4,084 kilometres. If he will look at my article more carefully, he will find on page 338 of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March the figure given under the item of Navigable Routes Destroyed as 1,112 kilometres. It would seem to me well that, if the figures of an article are to be criticized, those that are questioned should at least be correctly quoted. I cannot take such criticism as seriously as I might if there were not such errors in quoting.

As to the paragraph "Mr. Adler states the value of the capital in this region of France (devastated) amounted to 9,082,986,155 francs. On this labor of reconstruction the French Government has thus far spent 93,000,000 francs and the work of restoration is far from finished. Then a little later in the article Mr. Adler states that 130,000,000,000 francs will be needed to complete the work of reconstruction," the writer in his criticism has decidedly misinterpreted my statement. What was meant was that the total sum spent by the French Government to complete the work of restoration will be 130,000,000,000 francs.

As to the final paragraph, in which the writer questions my figures of 93,000,000,000 francs, he will note on page 338 of THE NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for March that my exact words were as follows: "On this labor of reconstruction the French Government has *thus far* spent 93,000,000,000 francs, and the work of restoration is far from finished." He has again misinterpreted my words in that he seems to think that the monetary figures given were applied to the limit of January 1, 1922. If he will take the trouble to re-read this section of my article, he will find that he was again mistaken.

In these paragraphs I have answered the writer's questions as fully as possible. One or two figures which he challenged I cannot at the moment go into, as I have not that particular bit of the documentary evidence here in Montana, but I know he will find from reading the official French reports that the figures are correct, and I think also that upon reflection he will be reassured that the French Government could not afford to give in official reports figures that were not absolutely correct. His own figures may be misquotations or taken from newspaper reports, which cannot always be relied upon.

LAURENCE ADLER.

State University, Missoula, Montana.

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